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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE LITURGY

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H. B. Swete, D.D.
J. H. Srawley, D.D.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE LITURGY

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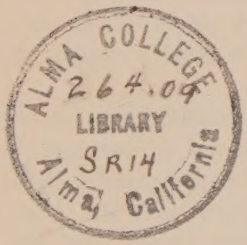

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NOTE BY THE EDITORS

THE purpose of *The Cambridge Handbooks of Liturgical Study* is to offer to students who are entering upon the study of Liturgies such help as may enable them to proceed with advantage to the use of the larger and more technical works upon the subject which are already at their service.

The series will treat of the history and rationale of the several rites and ceremonies which have found a place in Christian worship, with some account of the ancient liturgical books in which they are contained. Attention will also be called to the importance which liturgical forms possess as expressions of Christian conceptions and beliefs.

Each volume will provide a list or lists of the books in which the study of its subject may be pursued, and will contain a table of Contents and an Index.

The editors do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions expressed in the several volumes of the series. While offering suggestions on points of detail, they have left each writer to treat his subject in his own way, regard being had to the general plan and purpose of the series.

H. B. S.
J. H. S.

PREFACE

THE present handbook is intended to set before beginners in the study of the early liturgy the main factors in the history of its developement. It makes no pretension to completeness, nor has it been found possible, within the limits of space available, to treat in detail many of the perplexing problems which meet the student in this field of study. My object has been to select from the mass of materials accumulated in the larger works which are available those facts in the evidence which seemed to be of crucial importance, and to reserve judgement where the evidence seemed inconclusive. Many theories (*e.g.* with regard to the Roman Canon) have been passed over without detailed discussion, as it seemed better to put the young student in possession of the main facts, before introducing him to the various conjectural reconstructions of the history which have been put forward in recent times.

My debt to the larger and more important works of reference is indicated in the Bibliography and notes. I owe much to Mr Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western* and to the contributions to the subject of the early liturgy in the *Journal of Theological Studies* and elsewhere from the pen of Mr Edmund Bishop. To the latter I am indebted for help of a more personal kind. He generously undertook to

read through the manuscript of the present book, and has offered many criticisms of its general method and treatment, as well as detailed suggestions with regard to the contents of the first six chapters. The help thus given has been a stimulus to my own studies, and I can only express the hope that the final form of the book will shew that it has borne fruit. From Dr Swete, my co-editor in the present series, and from Dr W. H. Frere, of Mirfield, I have received help of various kinds. The Rev. G. H. Clayton, Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge, has kindly assisted me in the reading of the proofs. Lastly, my best thanks are due to the workmen and staff of the Cambridge University Press.

J. H. S.

Easter, 1913.

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INTRODUCTION

THE word 'Liturgy' is used in the present volume to denote the order of service employed in the central rite of the Christian Church, the Eucharist. In its original significance the word had a wider meaning. It was taken over by the Christian Church from the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, in which it had been used to denote the service of the priests and Levites in the Tabernacle and in the Temple[1]. In the New Testament, in addition to this use[2], we find the kindred verb applied to the worship of the Christian community[3], and the word itself used in a more figurative sense of good works and acts of charity[4]. In later writers it is used to denote either the whole service of God[5], or more especially the duties of the sacred ministry, whether of bishops, priests, or deacons[6]. The more restricted sense of the term as applied to the Eucharist is found in Theodoret[7] († c. 457 A.D.), who says that the benediction (2 Cor. xiii. 14) was used in all churches as a 'preface to the mystic liturgy.' In later usage the

[1] Num. viii. 22, 25, xviii. 4; 2 Chron. viii. 14 etc.
[2] Lk. i. 23; Heb. ix. 21.
[3] Acts xiii. 2.
[4] 2 Cor. ix. 12; Phil. ii. 17, 30.
[5] Clement, *ad Cor.* 41.
[6] Clement, *ad Cor.* 44; Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 1; Council of Antioch (341 A.D.) can. 4; Sarapion 25; Ap. Canons 28, 36.
[7] *ad Ioann. Oec. Ep.* 146 (ed. Sirm. III. 1032).

term became normally restricted to this narrower sense[1].

The object of the present volume is to trace the developement of the Liturgy, in this proper and restricted sense of the term, out of the simple beginnings recorded in the New Testament, and the process by which it attained a certain fixity of form during the period roughly represented by the first four centuries. Occasionally these limits have been somewhat exceeded, in order to allow of the discussion of materials, without which the history cannot adequately be treated.

The materials available include, in addition to the evidence of the Fathers, the early Church Orders, which have preserved many archaic features, and enable us to trace the stages through which the more developed rite, as it appears at the end of the fourth century, has passed. The period of the fourth century was especially a time of considerable liturgical developement, under the influence of changed conceptions and beliefs, which find expression in the Eastern church alike in the writings of Eastern Fathers and in liturgical formulae. The extant liturgies have been appealed to for illustration, though in their present form they include many later elements, and will form the subject of later volumes in the present series. In the case of the Roman Canon of the Mass a fuller discussion has been found necessary, though in the form in which it appears in the

[1] For its use to denote the morning and evening services see Suicer, *s.v.*

Gelasian Sacramentary it falls outside our period. But in any discussion of the liturgy of the first four centuries it is impossible to rule out the evidence of the extant liturgies, though the sifting of that evidence and the task of distinguishing earlier from later elements is a problem which calls for expert knowledge of the best kind. The approximation of liturgical forms in the different centres of Christendom to the types exhibited in the extant liturgies suggests that by the end of the fourth century considerable progress had been made towards the forms exhibited in these liturgies, and in the present work the attempt has been made to note these parallels and take account of their significance.

The process by which the prayers of the liturgy attained a fixed form was a slow one. Quite early indeed, as we see from Justin Martyr's account of the Sunday worship of the Christians, the general scheme of the service had attained a certain fixity, which is reproduced in all later forms. And during the same period the Church was acquiring a liturgical language of its own, based upon reminiscences of the Old Testament, Jewish liturgical prayers, and the language of the Apostolic writers. In this way a defined type of prayer came to be current, including certain stereotyped phrases, which attained in Christendom generally a certain vogue. Such are the opening words of the Preface, the *Sursum corda* with its response, which is found in Cyprian. The Church Orders have preserved many primitive features, which probably go back in some cases to the third

century. But this approximation to stereotyped forms was consistent with very considerable variation in other respects. In the earliest period extemporary prayer in the Christian assemblies was widely practised. According to the *Didache* (c. 10) prophets at the Eucharist are to be allowed to give thanks 'as much as they desire,' while Justin represents the president at the Eucharist as offering up prayers and thanksgivings 'as far as he is able[1].' This free use of extemporary prayer in the Christian assemblies was a survival of the earlier period, when the exuberant sense of new spiritual life, following upon the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, found expression in the utterances of prophecy and the gift of tongues. In the spontaneity and freedom of the first days there was little room for the developement of a fixed liturgy. This consideration, and the facts which have been adduced, shew that the attempt to trace in any existing liturgical forms an Apostolic liturgy is doomed to failure, ignoring as it does the conditions under which the liturgy developed. Our earliest liturgical prayers (found in the Church Orders) cannot safely be dated earlier than the third century, and all the evidence tends to shew that, apart from the general scheme of the liturgy, and certain fixed formulae, there was still considerable liberty accorded to the local leaders of the Church in the forms employed. The liturgy of Sarapion may be regarded as an example of this, exhibiting as it does features that are at least strange and unfamiliar to us, along

[1] *Ap.* i. 67 ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ.

with the use of certain stereotyped phrases, and a conformity to the common liturgical scheme. The same applies to the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, which represents a free composition, based upon older materials, and conforming to an existing type.

Nor again does the evidence of Christian writers during the second and third centuries support the conclusion that we can trace back the forms of the liturgy to Apostolic times. In spite of the services which were rendered to liturgical study by the painstaking labours of Dr Probst it must be confessed that the use which he makes of the evidence accumulated in his *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte* is often fanciful and uncritical. Many of the parallels which he adduces between phrases of the early Fathers and passages in our existing liturgies are mere commonplaces of Christian thought, and even when they are most striking we need to be cautious in the inferences which we draw from them. Such parallels need indicate nothing more than that certain phrases were in the making, and that when once coined they entered into the general language of the Church and found a place in the liturgy. That some of these formulae possess a high antiquity, and that the general scheme of the liturgy, as exhibited in Justin, goes back to an early date, may be conceded, but in any deductions which we may draw from this fact, regard must be had to the conditions of the period, and to the informal, tentative, and fluid character of early liturgical forms. That

some forms survived, while others vanished, was due partly to the fact that the former commended themselves to later generations of Christians, and partly to the example of great and influential churches which encouraged other churches to adopt their customs and forms.

But there is one direction in which it has been thought possible to find a connexion between early liturgical forms and the Apostolic age. The comparison of these forms, and more especially of the liturgy in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, with the prayers used in the Jewish Synagogue worship and in the Passover ritual has led to the suggestion that it is in these latter that we are to find the type and pattern on which the Christian liturgy was modelled. The most important exponent of this view was Dr G. Bickell in his *Messe und Pascha*. The more important parallels which he has adduced will be referred to in the course of the present volume. But apart from the purely accidental character of many of these parallels and the highly conjectural character of the scheme on which his theory is modelled, there remains the difficulty that none of the descriptions of the Jewish ritual of the Passover which we possess are contemporary with the Apostolic age. In spite of the conservatism of the Jewish character, this fact renders precarious the theory of such a direct influence of the Paschal ritual upon the Christian liturgy.

Within a more limited field of study than the

preceding, we may notice two recent attempts to investigate the relations of Jewish prayers and ritual to the primitive Eucharist. The first is Mr Box's article on 'The Jewish antecedents of the Eucharist' in the *Journal of Theological Studies*[1]. The second is the monograph of E. F. von der Goltz, *Tischgebete und Abendmahlsgebete in der altchr. und in der griech. Kirche*[2]. In these discussions the original Jewish setting of the Last Supper and the apostolic 'breaking of bread' is examined, and an attempt is made to estimate the nature of the influence which this original setting exercised upon the subsequent form of the liturgy. But before any assured results can be attained in this direction, the 'higher criticism' of these Jewish sources needs to be carried out more thoroughly than has yet been attempted.

[1] III. 357 f. (1902). See also the article 'Eucharistie' by Drews in *PRE*.[3]

[2] See also his earlier study, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (Leipzig, 1901).

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CHAPTER I

THE INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARIST AND ITS CELEBRATION IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE

The word 'Eucharist' has its origin in the thanksgivings pronounced over the bread and the cup by Christ at the Last Supper. Hence the name came to be applied to the Christian 'thank-offering[1],' in which the simple rite of the Last Supper was perpetuated by the Church. There are no certain instances of the latter use of the word in the New Testament[2], though it is found in the *Didache* and in Ignatius[3], while Justin applies the word to the consecrated elements over which the thanksgiving has been pronounced[4].

It is no part of the purpose of the present volume to discuss the many critical problems connected with the four narratives of the Last Supper found in the New Testament (Mt xxvi. 26–30; Mk xiv. 22–25; Lk xxii. 15–20; 1 Cor. xi. 23–26)[5]. Our present

[1] For *εὐχαριστεῖν, εὐχαριστία* see Hort, *J. Th. St.* iii. 594 f.

[2] Some have seen a Eucharistic reference in 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

[3] *Didache* 9; Ignatius, *Philad.* 4, *Smyrn.* 6.

[4] *Ap.* i. 66.

[5] For a fuller discussion of the narratives and the critical problems see Sanday's *Outlines of Life of Christ*, 157 f., and the art. 'Eucharist' in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics.*

enquiry is limited to the task of shewing how far those narratives, together with the primitive practice of the 'breaking of bread' recorded in Acts, and the references of St Paul to the Eucharist at Corinth, throw light upon the developement of the later Eucharist. We may notice the following points:

(1) Jesus began by a 'blessing' (εὐλογήσας, Mt, Mk) or 'thanksgiving' (εὐχαριστήσας, Lk, Pl) pronounced over the bread, which was followed by a similar 'thanksgiving' (εὐχαριστήσας, Mt, Mk) over the cup. The words used (εὐλογεῖν, εὐχαριστεῖν) are nearly synonymous[1], and denote an act of praise or thanksgiving, addressed to God, for the food of which they were about to partake[2]. The description accords with Jewish forms of grace used at meals (*e.g.* the blessing over wine, 'Blessed be thou, Lord our God, King of the world, that thou hast created the fruit of the vine[3]'), and also with the prayers of the *Didache*[4], where the thanksgiving is expanded so as to include a reference to the blessings of salvation.

(2) Jesus broke the bread for distribution among

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

[2] In 1 Cor. x. 16 'the cup of blessing which we bless' is equivalent to 'the cup over which we bless or praise God.' Cf. Theophylact: τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, τουτέστι τῆς εὐχαριστίας. In the accounts of the Last Supper Mt and Mk use εὐλογεῖν of the bread, εὐχαριστεῖν of the cup. The later sense of 'bless' = 'consecrate,' as applied to objects, is different, though 1 Tim. iv. 4 f. shews that such grace before meals was regarded as a 'hallowing' of the meal.

[3] See Von der Goltz, *Tischgebete u. Abendmahlsgebete*, p. 7.

[4] *Didache*, 9, 10. Cf. Justin, *Ap.* i. 67, εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν ποιητὴν κτλ. On the whole question see Lindens in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, xxi. (1897), pp. 54 f.

the disciples. The expression 'breaking of bread' is the name given in Acts (ii. 42, 46; xx. 7, 11) to the common meal of the early Christians. It is found elsewhere, being used of the act of Jesus in the meal at Emmaus (Lk xxiv. 30), and may recall the memory of previous meals which Jesus had shared with the disciples, and so serve to perpetuate the 'table-fellowship' which they had enjoyed with Him during His ministry. The description in Acts xxvii. 35 of St Paul's 'breaking of bread' during the voyage to Rome has probably no eucharistic reference, but the terms employed both there and in Lk xxiv. 30 present a close correspondence with the language used of Jesus at the Supper[1], and may serve to shew the link which the action had in each case with the procedure at ordinary Jewish meals.

(3) Jesus distributed the bread to the disciples with the formula 'Take, this is my body' (Mk), and similarly the cup, with the words 'This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many' (Mk). That these words are associated with the distribution of the bread and the delivery of the cup, seems apparent from all four narratives, and especially from that of St Mark, who interposes the words 'he gave [the cup] to them: *and they all drank of it*,' before he records the saying 'This is my blood.'

(4) This association of the distribution of the bread and the delivery of the cup with the words

[1] Note especially the phrases common to all three accounts: λαβεῖν ἄρτον, εὐλογεῖν (εὐχαριστεῖν Ac. xxvii. 35), κλᾶν. Cf. also the accounts of the feeding of the 5000 (Mk vi. 41 and parallels).

'This is my body' (St Paul adds 'which is for you'), 'This is my blood of the covenant which is shed for many,' connects the meal with the death of Christ conceived of as a sacrifice which ratifies a new covenant of fellowship with God. There is a clear reference in the terms employed to the covenant sacrifice of Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 8), while the term 'new covenant,' found in St Paul's account and the longer text of St Luke, interprets this language with a possible reference to Jer. xxxi. 31. This connexion with the death of Christ is made explicit in the command recorded by St Paul and in the longer text of St Luke, 'Do this in remembrance of me[1].' This aspect of the rite as a commemoration of the death of Christ is still more plainly indicated by St Paul in the words 'For as often as ye eat this bread and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come[2].'

(5) The idea of a communion-feast, in which the disciples are pointed forward to their future fellowship with Jesus in His glory, is implicit in the narratives of the Synoptists, alike in the eschatological language which they record, in the association of the bread and wine with His body and His blood, and in the delivery of them to the disciples to be partaken of, with the words 'Take' (Mk, Mt), 'drink ye all of it' (Mt). Hence we can explain St Paul's language in 1 Cor. x. 16 in which 'the cup of blessing' and the

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25; Lk xxii. 19. St Paul has the words in connexion with both the bread and the cup. They are absent in the latter place in Lk. The 'Western' text in Lk omits all mention of the Eucharistic cup which follows the blessing of the bread.

[2] 1 Cor. xi. 26.

broken bread are spoken of as 'a communion (or fellowship) of the blood and body of Christ,' and his implied reference to the Christian sacraments, when he speaks of the manna and water in the wilderness as 'spiritual food' and 'spiritual drink.'

These features in the Last Supper help to explain the lines along which the later Eucharist developed within the Church. There was first of all the central act of thanksgiving ('to the Father through the Son and Holy Spirit'; Justin[1]) over the bread and wine. Then the bread was broken and distributed, and the cup was passed round, as the symbols and pledge of the communion of the faithful with Christ and with one another (for the latter thought see 1 Cor. x. 17, and cf. *Didache* 9). Hence arose the names 'Eucharist,' 'Breaking of bread' (ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου, *fractio panis*), 'Communion' (κοινωνία) applied to the rite.

Can we attain a still clearer conception of the actual surroundings of the Last Supper, such as may help us to understand the nature of the developements which the Christian sacred meal underwent in the Apostolic age and the subsequent period? We are confronted first of all with the question, Was the Last Supper a Passover meal? The question can only be briefly discussed here[2]. On the one hand, the narratives of the Synoptists all imply that it was with the object of eating the Passover that Jesus went with His disciples to the upper room (Mt xxvi.

[1] *Ap.* i. 65.

[2] For a fuller discussion see Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, pp. 148 f.

17 f., Mk xiv. 12 f., Lk xxii. 7 f.). A similar conclusion has been drawn from the words of Lk xxii. 15 ('With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer'), though the words themselves, apart from their context, are consistent with the idea of an unfulfilled desire. Hence it has been suggested that in the original source of St Luke's narrative the words were a declaration that Jesus would not share the Passover which was approaching with His disciples[1]. The narrative of the fourth Gospel, which is inconsistent with the account of the Synoptists, represents the Supper as taking place before the Passover (John xiii. 1, xviii. 28, xix. 14, 36). There are also facts in the Synoptic account which point to some inconsistency in their narratives[2], nor do they exhibit any clearly Paschal features in their description of the Supper, but refer instead to the covenant sacrifice of Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 8; cf. Mk xiv. 24 and parallels). Various attempts have been made to solve this difficulty by resort to the assumption of an anticipated Passover[3], but none of them can be pronounced satisfactory. Notice however may be here taken of an alternative theory, according to which Jesus did not keep the actual Passover with the disciples, but only the Kiddûsh[4], a domestic ceremony preceding the Sabbath and great festivals

[1] See Burkitt and Brooke in *J. Th. St.* ix. 569 f.

[2] See Sanday, *l. c.*

[3] For these see Chwolson, *Das letzte Passahmahl Christi* (ed. 1908) and Lambert, *J. Th. St.* iv. 191 f.

[4] The word Kiddûsh means 'sanctification.' The rite was the 'sanctification' of the Sabbath or festival which it preceded.

and connected with the evening meal. In this ceremony, before the evening meal began, a blessing was pronounced over a cup of wine by the head of the household, who then drank from it and passed it round to the rest of the company. Then followed the washing of hands, after which a blessing was pronounced over the bread, one loaf being cut up and distributed to the company[1]. It is claimed that the ceremony here described is of great antiquity, and that it goes back to pre-Christian times[2]. It presents some interesting parallels with the narratives of the Last Supper and the prayers contained in the *Didache* (c. 9). With reference to the relative order of the cup and the bread appeal is made in confirmation of the theory to the account of St Luke as given in the text of Westcott and Hort, which omits the mention of the second cup, and to the order of the prayers in the *Didache* (c. 9), in both of which the thanksgiving over the cup precedes that over the bread (cf. also the order in 1 Cor. x. 16). Against this has to be set the order of St Mark (who is followed by St Matthew) and of St Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23 f.). Moreover the notes of time in our accounts create a difficulty. According to St Mark it was '*while they were eating*' that Jesus broke bread, and St Paul describes the blessing of the cup as taking place '*after the supper*' (so Luke according to the longer text).

[1] See Box, *The Jewish antecedents of the Eucharist*, in *J. Th. St.* iii. 357 f. Cf. also Spitta, *Urchristenthum*, i. 247, and Drews, art. 'Eucharistie' in *PRE.*[3]

[2] Cf. Box, *l. c.*, p. 360.

A similar theory, which attempts to escape from some of these difficulties, is propounded by E. F. Von der Goltz in his *Tischgebete und Abendmahlsgebete* (1905). This writer accepts the view that the Last Supper was not the Passover meal, but a ceremonial meal (like the Kiddûsh), in which there was a preliminary blessing over a cup of wine and bread, followed at the end of the meal by a liturgical thanksgiving or 'table-blessing.' It was in connexion with this concluding thanksgiving that the words and acts of Jesus recorded in our accounts occurred. He explains the divergence in the order of the bread and the cup in 1 Cor. x. 16 and xi. 23 f. by assuming that the former passage refers to the introductory blessing, while the latter records the concluding thanksgiving. But our accounts are too short and the writers probably too little interested in the external procedure at the Last Supper to admit of our attaining any certainty as to the exact details. The general structure of the Jewish ceremonial prayers to which reference has been made appears to have been much the same as those of the ordinary Jewish household prayers, and the parallels adduced prove little more than the fact that our Lord availed himself at the Last Supper of the ordinary Jewish forms of blessing employed at meals.

These theories reflect a growing tendency among scholars, for which there is a good deal of support in the evidence of our sources, to regard the Last Supper not as a Passover meal, but as a meal preceding the Passover and possibly in some way connected with

it. The conception of Christ as the paschal lamb (1 Cor. v. 8, John xix. 36) would naturally lead to the association of paschal ideas with the solemn memorial of His death made in the Christian sacred meal, and to the conception of it as a Christian Passover. It is possible that the accounts of the Synoptists shew traces of this influence and that it has affected their conception of the actual setting of the Last Supper, in which, as we have seen, their accounts are in conflict with that of the Fourth Gospel. The Paschal features are especially prominent in St Luke, and to the influence of this idea we may possibly attribute the setting in which he has placed the words 'with desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer,' as well as the presence of the two cups in his account, if the words which contain the mention of the second cup are genuine.

In the Passover ritual a prominent feature is the Haggada, in which is recounted the story of God's redemptive dealing with His people. It has been suggested that this may have given rise to a similar recital of the redemption effected through Christ in the Christian service, and that there is some such reference in St Paul's words (1 Cor. xi. 26) 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, *ye proclaim the Lord's death.*' Other paschal references have been seen in St Paul's account of the institution, *e.g.* the words 'do this in remembrance of me' (εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν; cf. Ex. xii. 14 'this day shall be unto you for a memorial' (μνημόσυνον)); and the 'cup

of blessing' (1 Cor. x. 16), corresponding to the third cup of the Passover meal. But the former of these parallels is too slight to have any weight, and the latter rests upon a misconception, as St Paul's words are explained by the addition 'which we bless,' whereas the so-called 'cup of blessing' in the Paschal ritual has the fuller title 'the cup of blessing over meat[1].'

Those who maintain that the Last Supper was a Passover meal in the proper sense of the word have endeavoured to identify the blessing of the cup with one or other of the cups which had a place in the Jewish ritual of the feast, and to find not only in the narrative of the Last Supper, but in the subsequent developement of the Christian liturgy, traces of the influence of the Paschal ritual. The most thorough-going of these attempts is that of Dr Bickell in his *Messe und Pascha*. He starts from the account of St Luke, as represented in the longer form (containing *vv.* 19 b and 20) and identifies the cup there spoken of with the fourth cup of the Passover, or 'the cup of the Hallel,' which was sung after the supper was ended. At this stage Jesus took one of the cakes of bread and filled the cup, directing that all should subsequently drink of it. Then He recited the second part of the Hallel (Pss. cxv.—cxviii.) and the subsequent prayer and began the Great Hallel (Ps. cxxxvi.). Before *v.* 25 ('Who giveth food to all flesh...') He consecrated the bread and wine, and finished the Great Hallel. He then distributed the consecrated bread and passed round the cup. The hymn which was sung before the disciples left the supper-chamber was probably a particular psalm

[1] See Box, *l. c.*, p. 362; Bickell, *Messe und Pascha* (E. tr. by Skene, *The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual*, p. 163).

sung as a thanksgiving, and not the Hallel, as is the more usual opinion.

According to the same detailed and highly conjectural scheme Dr Bickell seeks to explain the subsequent developement of the Christian liturgy, using as his chief source the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions. By an elaborate and highly artificial comparison of the Anaphora of the liturgy there set forth with the Hallel of the Paschal ritual, he concludes that the former was modelled upon the latter. And he sees in this conclusion, together with other evidence which he adduces, a proof of the apostolic origin of the Clementine liturgy. There is little need to discuss this theory, as few scholars will be found at the present time to admit the highly precarious and uncritical assumptions on which it is based. As we have already indicated[1], any detailed comparison of Jewish ritual forms with Christian documents of the first century A.D. is rendered precarious by the doubt as to the antiquity of these forms, and as we shall see, the character of early liturgical developement forbids the supposition that the form of the liturgy was from the earliest times of so stereotyped a character.

We may now pass on to consider briefly the characteristics of the early Christian meal, which appears in the Acts of the Apostles under the name of the 'breaking of bread,' and its connexion with the Last Supper and the rite described by St Paul in 1 Cor. x. 16 f., xi. 23 f.

The early chapters of Acts contain a description of the life of the primitive Christian community at Jerusalem. Among the features which characterized its daily life and shewed its consecrated character

[1] Introduction, p. xiv f.

are mentioned 'the apostles' teaching,' the spirit of 'fellowship' which pervaded its members, 'the breaking of bread,' and 'the prayers' (Acts ii. 42). In a later passage (ii. 46) a distinction is drawn between the continued attendance of the disciples at the Temple worship as Jews, and the characteristically Christian meetings for the 'breaking of bread' in their household (κατ' οἶκον) gatherings[1]. Like the corresponding Jewish meals this 'breaking of bread' would be accompanied by simple forms of 'blessing' or 'thanksgiving.' But in its new Christian setting it was an expression of the Christian fellowship of the disciples. It would recall the similar meals which they had shared with the Lord during His ministry, and it would naturally include the memory of the Last Supper. Hence the meal would assume a eucharistic character (cf. Spitta, *Urchristenthum*, p. 289).

In the account of St Paul's stay at Troas (Acts xx. 7—11) we have a reference to the 'breaking of bread' in different surroundings and at an interval of some years after the events described above. The earlier account describes the common life of the first disciples, when their numbers were small, and they lived in intimate daily relations with one another.

[1] The words 'they took their food with gladness and singleness of heart,' which form the principal clause of the sentence introduced by the participial clauses 'continuing in the temple...and breaking bread,' may be, as Batiffol suggests (*Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*. 2ième série (1905), p. 38), a general summary, expressing in biblical phraseology (Lev. xxvi. 5) the joy which pervaded the life of the first days, or they may refer to the meal already indicated in the phrase 'breaking bread.'

The account of the incident at Troas speaks of a gathering 'on the first day of the week[1]' and suggests a weekly gathering for worship, in which the central feature was 'the breaking of bread.' The account is too slight to enable us to fill in the details of the picture, but it exhibits a greater formality than is shewn in the earlier passage of Acts. There is a mention of 'many lights,' the day and purpose of the gathering are dwelt upon ('when we were gathered together on the first day of the week to break bread'); St Paul discoursed at length, and then 'broke bread' after midnight. Here too, as at Jerusalem, the meal appears to have been eucharistic.

The fragmentary notices of Acts are supplemented by the fuller and more detailed account of St Paul. His narrative of the institution of the rite (1 Cor. xi. 23 f.) has been thought to exhibit traces of being a 'liturgical formula[2].' This, however, is improbable, though its more formal language may indicate that the account of the Last Supper was already acquiring in oral tradition a stereotyped form. St Paul traces the origin of the Christian meal to a command of the Lord 'do this in remembrance of Me,' and regards it as a memorial of the death of Christ. From his words 'as often as ye eat this bread and drink the cup, ye shew forth the Lord's death until He come,' it has been conjectured that there was already in the Church at Corinth a solemn commemoration, during

[1] For the Christian commemoration of the first day of the week see 1 Cor. xvi. 1 and Rev. i. 10 (ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ).

[2] Box, *J. Th. St.* iii. 362.

the meal, of the death of Christ, corresponding to the Haggada of the Paschal ritual[1].

The words 'do this in remembrance of Me' are best taken in their simple and natural sense. The word 'do' (ποιεῖτε) refers to the whole act implied in 'gave thanks,' 'brake,' etc. The word 'remembrance' (ἀνάμνησις) brings the action of thanksgiving and participation into connexion with Christ's death, which it was the purpose of the meal to commemorate. It is reading too much into the words ποιεῖν and ἀνάμνησις to attribute to them the particular sacrificial sense in which they are occasionally used in the Greek Old Testament[2].

From the references of St Paul in 1 Cor. x. 16 we gather that the meal included a blessing over a cup of wine and a breaking of bread[3]. Though the richer brethren brought their own contributions for the

[1] Cf. Von der Goltz, *op. cit.* p. 15.

[2] For the contention that ποιεῖν = 'offer' see Andersen, *Das Abendmahl* (Giessen, 1904), p. 14 f.; E. F. Willis, *Sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist* (Oxford, 1878), p. 16 f. The latter appeals to passages in the LXX. where ποιεῖν has as its object such words as ἀμνόν, μόσχον or αἷμα (Ex. xxix. 39; Lev. iv. 20; Lev. xvi. 15). There is perhaps more to be said for the sacrificial sense of ἀνάμνησις which he maintains on the strength of the LXX. rendering in Lev. xxiv. 7, Nu. x. 10, and the titles of Pss. xxxvii. (xxxviii.), lxix. (lxx.). But the word is used in the more general sense of 'remembrance' in Symmachus' rendering of Ex. iii. 15, Ps. vi. 6; see also Wisdom xvi. 6; Heb. x. 3 (cf. Nu. v. 15, and see Westcott *in loco*). T. K. Abbott (*Essays on the original texts of O. and N.T.* (1891), pp. 110 f.) controverts the sacrificial sense of both words, after a careful examination of the passages quoted above.

[3] On the difference in the order of the cup and the bread in 1 Cor. x. 16, xi. 23 f. see the reference to the theory of Von der Goltz, p. 8.

meal and had misused it by their selfishness and excess, yet in idea and purpose the whole meal was sacred and was to be regarded as 'a supper of the Lord' (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον). By their selfishness they had turned it into a private meal (τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον). Other features on which St Paul dwells are: (1) the 'fellowship' (κοινωνία) or 'communion' of the Body and Blood of Christ involved in the participation in the meal: it was a communion feast: (2) the unity of the worshippers, expressed in the symbolism of the one loaf, which was a type of the one body. See 1 Cor. x. 16 f.

St Paul's parallel between the heathen sacrificial feasts and the Christian Eucharist in 1 Cor. x. 18 f. is an *argumentum ad hominem*. It throws no light on the surroundings of the Eucharist as such at Corinth, and does not justify the conjecture that St Paul adapted Greek customs to Christian purposes, as a setting for the Eucharist, still less that it was the influence of Greek customs which led St Paul to institute the Eucharist as has been supposed[1]. The whole setting of the Eucharist as described in 1 Corinthians accords with what we have already seen of its connexion with Jewish household meals (*e.g.* the 'blessing' over the cup, the 'thanksgiving,' the expression 'break bread'). At the same time the existence of such religious meals in Greek life would facilitate the transference of the Christian rite from Jewish to Gentile soil.

The meal with which the distinctive Eucharistic

[1] *e.g.* by P. Gardner, *Origin of the Lord's Supper* (1893).

acts were associated in the Apostolic age has commonly been identified with the Agape, or 'Love-feast,' which is first expressly mentioned by name in Jude 12 (cf. also 2 Pet. ii. 13 with Mayor's note). But St Paul's account in 1 Cor. xi. already implies that these gatherings provided indirectly an opportunity for feeding the poorer brethren (*vv.* 21, 22), and that the richer brethren brought with them their own provisions. Thus the meal was a pledge of brotherly love and fellowship, which had been violated at Corinth by the selfish behaviour of some converts. But the use of the term Agape, and the distinction between the Agape and the Eucharist, as applied to the conditions described in Acts and 1 Corinthians, are possibly anachronisms. As yet there was no sharp distinction between the two parts of the meal, such as took place when the specially eucharistic features assumed a more developed liturgical form. The whole meal in St Paul's thought has the character of a sacred meal. It is a 'supper of the Lord.' It was only when the social side of the meal came to be distinguished from the more solemn liturgical acts connected with it, that the Agape was conceived of as separate from the Eucharist, and came to be finally dissociated from it[1].

Another question which remains to be discussed is the connexion in the Apostolic age between the Christian sacred meal and the other acts of worship of which St Paul speaks in 1 Corinthians.

[1] On the Agape see Keating, *The Agape and the Eucharist*, and art. 'Agape' in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*.

In the early chapters of Acts we are told that the first disciples continued to attend the Temple worship (ii. 46, iii. 1), while the distinctive features of their new life include, in addition to 'the breaking of bread,' the Apostles' teaching and 'the prayers.' The Apostles taught publicly in the Temple as well as in their house gatherings (iv. 2, v. 21, 25, 42). The 'prayers' may include both the Temple prayers (iii. 1) and the domestic prayers of the Christian gatherings (cf. Acts i. 24, iv. 23 f., xii. 12). When we pass to the Gentile churches we find in 1 Cor. xiv. 26 f. mention of gatherings in which teachings, psalms, and the special utterances of the gifts of tongues and of prophecy found a place. How far these were distinct from the gatherings at which the Eucharist was celebrated (1 Cor. xi. 20 f.) it is difficult to say[1]. Elsewhere St Paul refers to the use of psalms and hymns by Christians (Col. iii. 16, Eph. v. 19) and to the public reading of his own letters in the churches (Col. iv. 16, 1 Thess. v. 27). From Acts xx. 7 f. we learn that the 'breaking of bread' at Troas was preceded by a discourse from St Paul. But further than this we are unable to judge how far the Eucharist was accompanied by other acts, such as the reading

[1] It has been suggested that 1 Cor. xiv. 16 ('if thou bless in the spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of the unlearned say, Amen, at thy giving of thanks') contains a reference to the 'blessing' or 'thanksgiving' pronounced over the bread and the cup. The suggestion is not impossible. The importance assigned to the charismatic gifts (cf. *Didache* 10, of the prophets, at the Eucharist) would explain the words 'in the spirit,' and the use of εὐλογεῖν and εὐχαριστεῖν corresponds with the language of Mk xiv. 22, 23 and parallels in Mt.

of Scripture or Apostolic letters, and the singing of psalms. The influence of the Jewish synagogue worship must be reckoned as one of the factors which helped to mould the Christian 'service of the word'[1]' and the account which Justin Martyr gives of the service which preceded the Eucharist proper in his day shews traces of this influence. The separation of the Eucharist from the meal with which it was at first associated would hasten the fusion of the two elements, the 'service of the word,' and the Eucharist proper. But it is possible that before this date the latter already included elements of the former[2].

There are a few other references in Apostolic writers to customs and practices which may have had an influence on the developement of the liturgy.

(1) As we have seen, St Paul refers to the practice at Corinth of bringing provisions for the holy meal. This practice survived, even when the Eucharist had become separated from the meal, and attached itself to the conception of the Eucharist as a 'thank-offering' or 'oblation of gifts,' which appears in the accounts of Clement, the *Didache*, Justin, and Irenaeus.

(2) The mention of the 'kiss of peace' in several New Testament passages (*e.g.* 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12, 1 Thess. v. 26, 1 Pet. v. 14) is the starting point of the later liturgical custom of giving the kiss of peace in connexion with the Eucharist. But it does not appear to have been in early times a peculiar feature of the liturgy, but was found in other services as well[3].

[1] See p. 37, n. 4. [2] See p. 38. [3] See ch. viii.

(3) The practice of almsgiving is enjoined in several passages of the New Testament (1 Cor. xvi. 1 f., 2 Cor. viii.—ix, Rom. xii. 13, Heb. xiii. 16). From the reference in the first of these passages to the 'laying by' of alms 'on the first day of the week' (cf. Acts xx. 7) it might be conjectured that the alms were presented at the Christian gathering on that day, but St Paul's words suggest rather a laying by in private (παρ' ἑαυτῷ). The account of Justin shews that by the middle of the second century the practice of bringing alms to the Sunday gathering was established.

There is one other direction in which the influence of the Apostolic age is shewn in the later developements of the liturgy. The transference by Apostolic writers to the Christian life and its duties of the sacrificial language of the Old Testament created a new Christian terminology, in which sacrificial terms are freely applied to the spiritual acts and worship of believers. Thus St Paul[1] speaks of himself as 'the minister' (or 'ministering priest,' λειτουργόν) of Christ Jesus, doing the sacrificial work (ἱερουργοῦντα) of the Gospel of God, that the offering (προσφορά) of the Gentiles may be acceptable (εὐπρόσδεκτος), 'sanctified in the Holy Spirit' (ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ). Of the duty of self-consecration he speaks as 'a living sacrifice, a reasonable (or "spiritual") service' (λογικὴν λατρείαν)[2]; of the devotion of the Philippians as 'the sacrifice and service (λειτουργία) of faith[3].' St Peter speaks of Christians as forming 'a spiritual house for

[1] Rom. xv. 16. [2] Rom. xii. 1. [3] Phil. ii. 17.

a holy act of priesthood (ἱεράτευμα), to offer spiritual sacrifices, holy, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ[1].' In Hebrews reference is made to the Christian 'altar, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle[2]'; the readers are bidden to 'offer a sacrifice of praise' (θυσίαν αἰνέσεως) through Jesus Christ continually to God[3]; while of almsgiving it is said that 'with such sacrifices God is well-pleased[4].' Such language supplied Christian devotion with a means of expressing its own highest conceptions when engaged in public worship, and helped to create a liturgical phraseology, which in time became stereotyped and found a permanent place in the written liturgies of the Church.

There are especially two books of the New Testament, the influence of which appears not only in the liturgical language of the Church, but in the underlying conceptions which form the background of later eucharistic worship. The conception of the heavenly priesthood of Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the pictures of the worship of Heaven in the Apocalypse, have played a large part in the guidance of Christian devotion in connexion with the Eucharist. To the former book we owe the thought of Christ as 'the high priest of our offerings' (Clement of Rome, Origen), which underlies many later liturgical prayers.

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 5. [2] Heb. xiii. 10.

[3] Heb. xiii. 15. The phrase θυσία αἰνέσεως in the LXX. is a translation of the Hebrew זֶבַח הַתּוֹדָה which denotes the highest form of the peace-offering, the thank-offering. See Lev. vii. 12 and other passages cited by Westcott *in loco*.

[4] Heb. xiii. 16.

To the latter book is due the conception of the 'heavenly altar,' which figures in the later liturgies of East and West[1], while the picture of the adoration of the Lamb, 'standing as slain[2],' in the same book, supplies the background of the eucharistic language of St Chrysostom.

[1] See Rev. vi. 9; viii. 3; ix. 13. For the use of the phrase by Irenaeus, see p. 41.

[2] Rev. v. 6, 9, 12; xiii. 8.

CHAPTER II

THE EUCHARIST IN THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE AND IN JUSTIN AND IRENAEUS

Among the scanty Christian literature of the sub-apostolic age the *Didache* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* calls first for notice. Lightfoot assigns the document to the later decades of the first century or the beginning of the second century. Harnack gives the broader limits 131—160 A.D. Doubts have been cast upon the historical value of the presentation of Church life which the writer gives[1], but with regard to the forms of prayer which he supplies for use in connexion with the Eucharist, as well as his general description of the Eucharist, it cannot be said that these doubts seem well grounded, and we shall see reason to believe that both are primitive in character, however strange they may appear to later generations of Christian readers.

The latter portion of the document (chs. 7—15) contains a primitive Church order. After directions

[1] See J. A. Robinson in *J. Th. St.* xiii. 339 f.; Bigg, *Doctrine of xii. Apostles* (S.P.C.K., London, 1898), pp. 12 f. The latter's contention that the work is a fourth century production has not won assent.

about Christian baptism (c. 7) and its preliminary fast, the writer gives instruction on fasting and prayer (c. 8), and then proceeds to give forms of prayer to be used in connexion with the 'thank-offering' or 'Eucharist' (εὐχαριστία). They are introduced by the words (c. 9) 'Concerning the thank-offering (εὐχαριστίας)[1] give thanks (εὐχαριστήσατε) in this manner.' Then follow two prayers (1) for the cup, (2) for the broken bread (κλάσματος). The prayers are Jewish in character and recall the similar Jewish forms of blessing before meals[2]. The prayer for the cup runs:

We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy servant. Glory be to thee for ever.

The prayer over 'the broken bread' is parallel in form, but contains a supplementary petition for the gathering of the Church from the ends of the earth into the kingdom.

We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy servant. Glory be to thee for ever. As this bread that is broken was scattered upon the mountains and gathered together and became one, so let thy Church be gathered

[1] On εὐχαριστία see Hort, *J. Th. St.* iii. 594 f.; Von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ält. Christenheit*, p. 214. As the latter says, εὐχαριστία is a comprehensive expression for the whole meal, of which the several parts are subsequently denoted in the expressions περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, περὶ τοῦ κλάσματος.

[2] The graces before and after meals in the *de Virginitate* (now attributed to Athanasius) appear to be derived from, or based on the same sources as, these prayers in the *Didache*. See *de Virg.* 13, 14.

together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom: for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.

Then follows a direction that no one is to eat or drink of the 'thank-offering,' but those that are baptized, because the Lord has said 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.'

In ch. 10 there is a form of thanksgiving 'after ye are filled' (*μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*). It is similar in form and contents to the earlier prayers[1], and like the second prayer, contains a petition for the perfecting and gathering together of the Church into the kingdom. It refers, however, unlike the former prayers, to the gift of food and drink, and the further gift of 'spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant.' The prayer is as follows:

We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality, which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy servant. Glory be to thee for ever. Thou, Almighty Lord, didst create all things for thy name's sake, and gavest food and drink for men to enjoy, that they might give thanks unto thee; and to us didst vouchsafe spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant. Above all we thank thee because thou art mighty. Glory be to thee for ever. Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil, and to perfect it in thy love, and gather it together from the four winds, even the Church which has been sanctified into thy kingdom which thou didst prepare for it. For thine is the power and the glory for ever.

[1] Von der Goltz (*Das Gebet*, p. 211), and Batiffol (*Études*, II. pp. 114 f.), suggest that it is a doublet.

This prayer is followed by some short fragments consisting of:

(1) The petition, 'Come grace, and let this world pass away.'

(2) 'Hosanna to the God of David.'

(3) The invitation, 'If any is holy let him come: if any is unholy, let him repent.'

(4) 'Maranatha,' and the Amen.

A direction that prophets are to be allowed to 'give thanks as much as they will' concludes the section.

Various theories have been held as to the relation of these prayers to the Eucharist on the one hand and the Agape on the other. Some scholars regard all three prayers as having reference only to the Agape, and this view has recently been restated by Dom Cagin[1], who finds a parallel to the injunction of the *Didache* (c. 9), that none are to eat and drink of the 'thank-offering' but only the baptized, in the direction of the Church Orders that catechumens are to be excluded from the Agape; and he similarly finds support in these Church Orders for the priority of the benediction of the cup in the Agape. But it is difficult to believe that the writer is not thinking of the Eucharist in his account. The explicit use of the term εὐχαριστία or 'thank-offering' for the consecrated food (c. 9), the reference to 'spiritual food and drink' (c. 10), lastly the parallel which these prayers present with similar Gnostic prayers found in the Acts of John[2] (where the reference is

[1] *L'euchologie latine*, 2. *L'eucharistia*, pp. 259 f.

[2] cc. 85, 109 (ed. Lipsius and Bonnet).

undoubtedly eucharistic), suggest that we have here to deal with some primitive formulae employed in connexion with the Eucharist.

Zahn[1] and others maintain that the prayers in ch. 9 are the introductory prayers to the Agape, while the prayer in ch. 10 introduces the Eucharist proper. On the other hand many recent scholars (Jülicher, Spitta, Drews, Von der Goltz) refuse to see any such sharp distinction between the two, and contend that the whole meal with which the prayers are connected constitutes a unity. The prayer in ch. 10 is certainly more naturally regarded as a concluding thanksgiving for the holy meal, corresponding to the 'table-blessing' of Jewish prayers. The question is complicated by the concluding fragments in ch. 10, and especially by the invitation 'if any is holy, let him come.' It is possible that these are an insertion of the editor and have no original connexion with the preceding prayers[2]. The words 'Come grace, and let this world pass away' may be a fragment of a Christian hymn[3]. The following Hosanna recalls the Hosanna after the *Sancta sanctis* in the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, immediately before Communion, where it is followed by the *Benedictus qui uenit.* Ps. cxviii. from which the words are taken was sung at the conclusion of the Passover ritual. The invitation which follows has

[1] *Forsch. z. Gesch. des neutest. Kanons*, III. pp. 293 f.

[2] Von der Goltz, *Das Gebet*, pp. 212 f.

[3] Von der Goltz compares *Acta Thomae*, 27, 50, for similar forms.

been taken by some scholars to be an invitation to Communion, and the Maranatha in the sense, 'Lord come,' has been thought to have a similar reference. But Harnack suggests that they are connected with the thought of the coming of the Messianic kingdom. The faithful, after partaking of the table of the Lord, express their longing for His visible return. The warning 'let him repent' would be more appropriate to the thought of the Second Coming than to the idea of an invitation to the communion which is to follow[1].

Assuming that the prayers have a eucharistic character, we may notice that they contain no reference to the death of Christ or to the Last Supper. Attention is fixed upon the community and the 'gathering of the Church into the Kingdom.' The prayers are strongly Jewish in character and shew the influence of Jewish liturgical prayers. The feast is a communion feast in which the presence of Christ is conceived of in mystical language. Thanks are given for 'the holy vine of David thy servant' (ch. 9), and 'for thy holy name which thou hast made to dwell in our hearts' (c. 10). In the former phrase the idea of the consecrated gift of God, the wine, passes into the thought of the gift of Messiah[2]. In the latter the 'dwelling of thy holy name' is an Old Testament expression for the presence

[1] Harnack, *Chronologie*, I. 430, n. 1; cf. Goguel, *L'eucharistie*, p. 234.

[2] On the title 'Vine of David' as applied to the Messiah see Taylor, *Teaching of xii. Apostles*, p. 70.

of God[1]. The prayers appear in fact to come from some Jewish Christian circle in which the mystical and eschatological elements in early Christian teaching were dominant. As we have seen, they find their nearest parallel in the prayers of the Gnostic Acts of John. This fact should make us cautious of accepting the hypothesis[2] that the prayers in the *Didache* were written with a view to the needs of the community as a whole, not of its officers, and that the forms of thanksgiving provided in it were for the use of the recipients, not a formula of consecration for the celebrant.

The concluding direction in ch. 10 that the prophets are to be allowed to 'give thanks as much as they will' shews that the forms supplied are not intended to be stereotyped prayers, from which no divergence was to be allowed. They represent rather the type and model of such prayers, and their use is consistent with a large liberty of improvisation.

Whatever doubt there may be as to the significance and intention of the prayers in chs. 9—10, in ch. 14 the *Didache* presents us with an account of the Sunday Eucharist which is on the same lines as the evidence of other second century sources. The description given points to greater formality, and has suggested the possibility (Drews) that, while the prayers in chs. 9—10 refer to small household gatherings, the account in ch. 14 deals with the

[1] Von der Goltz, *Das Gebet*, p. 219. Cf. Jer. vii. 12; Neh. i. 9; Ez. xliii. 7; Ps. lxxiv. 7.

[2] See Box, *J. Th. St.* iii. 367 f.

formal weekly gatherings for worship. The account is introduced as follows: 'On the Lord's own day gather together and break bread and give thanks.' The Eucharist is to be preceded by a confession of sins, 'that your sacrifice (*θυσία*) may be pure,' and it is identified with 'the pure offering' of Mal. i. 11. In close connexion with this mention of the Sunday Eucharist is the injunction (c. 15) 'Elect therefore for yourselves overseers and deacons,' which suggests that these officials were specially connected with its administration[1].

The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, written about 95 A.D., contains few allusions to the Eucharist. In c. 41 the writer says 'Let each of you, brethren, in his own order, give thanks (*εὐχαριστείτω*) unto God, preserving a good conscience, and adhering to the appointed rule of his service (*λειτουργίας*) with all reverence.' Here there seems to be an allusion to the public service of the Church and to the principal act of Christian thanksgiving, the Eucharist (Lightfoot)[2]. In the second passage (c. 44) Clement says, with reference to the disorders at Corinth, 'We shall be guilty of no small sin, if we reject men who have holily and without offence offered the gifts pertaining to the office of the overseer' (*τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*). The allusion seems to be, as Lightfoot says, to the presentation by the presbyters (or overseers) of the alms, the elements

[1] Cf. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 8; Justin, *Ap.* i. 65, 67.

[2] Lightfoot illustrates the words 'in his own order' by Justin's words (*Ap.* i. 65) *εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ.*

for the Eucharist, and possibly the contributions for the Agape, over which prayers and thanksgivings were offered in the name of the whole body. The whole act constituted a Christian 'thank-offering' or 'sacrifice' in the sense of the *Didache* and Ignatius.

In two other passages Clement has been thought to make use of liturgical language current in the worship of the Church. In the former passage (c. 34) he refers to the ministry of angels, and quotes Dan. vii. 10 and Isaiah vi. 3, followed at a short interval by a reminiscence of 1 Cor. ii. 9 (itself based on Isaiah lxiv. 4). The association of Dan. vii. 10 with Isaiah vi. 3 suggests the similar association of the two passages in the Preface and *Sanctus* of the later liturgies[1], while the reference to 1 Cor. ii. 9 recalls the liturgical use of the same passage[2]. In the words which intervene between the two sets of quotations Clement says, 'Let us also meet together (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες) therefore with our inmost hearts in concord, and with fervour (ἐκτενῶς) let us cry unto him as with one mouth (ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος), that we may be made partakers in his great and glorious promises.' Here again the phrases, of which the original Greek has been quoted, are familiar in later liturgical usage[3].

[1] See *A. C.* (*LEW.* 18. 27 f.); Mark (*LEW.* 131. 23 f.); Coptic (*LEW.* 175. 20 f.); Abyssinian (*LEW.* 231. 12 f.).

[2] See James (*LEW.* 53. 10 f.) and Mark (*LEW.* 129. 13).

[3] Σύναξις is used of a liturgical gathering. See *LEW.* Index. For ἐκτενῶς see *A. C.* (*LEW.* 6. 11; 7. 5, 12, 29; 8. 28; 12. 7). With ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος cf. ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι in Basil (*LEW.* 337. 20) and the Byzantine rite (*LEW.* 390. 2).

In the second passage (cc. 59—61) we find a long liturgical prayer, which exhibits parallels in language and ideas not only with the 'Eighteen Benedictions' of Jewish prayers, but also with the phraseology of later liturgies[1]. The whole prayer, as Duchesne has said, may perhaps be regarded as 'an excellent example of the style of solemn prayer in which the ecclesiastical leaders of that time were accustomed to express themselves at meetings for worship[2].'

These passages then suggest that certain ideas and stereotyped phrases had found a place in the language of Christian worship, and that a certain defined type of prayer had become current, based upon Christian terminology, the Old Testament, and the forms of the synagogue worship.

The epistles of Ignatius (110—117 A.D.) contain a few references to the Eucharist and its position in public worship. The terms 'thank-offering[3],' and 'breaking of bread[4]' are applied to it. The 'one Eucharist' is the pledge of unity, and is not to be celebrated apart from the bishop[5]. Whether it was already separated from the Agape is uncertain. Lightfoot, who is followed by most scholars, has concluded that the two were still conjoined, on the ground that the words in *Smyrn.* 8, 'it is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a

[1] See Lightfoot, *Clement*, vol. I. (ed. 2) pp. 382 ff., and notes on the passage in Clement. See also E. F. Von der Goltz, *Das Gebet*, 199 f.

[2] *Chr. Worship* (E. tr.[8]), p. 50.

[3] Εὐχαριστία. See *Philad.* 4; *Smyrn.* 6.

[4] *Eph.* 20, ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες. [5] *Philad.* 4; *Smyrn.* 8.

love-feast,' must include a reference to the Eucharist as well as to the Agape, for otherwise the omission of the Eucharist is inexplicable. But the cogency of this conclusion is lessened by the fact that the Eucharist has already been referred to a few sentences previously, where Ignatius says 'let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or him to whom he commits it.' Elsewhere Ignatius refers to the common thanksgiving and prayer of the Church[1]. In four passages[2] he speaks of the Christian assembly as a 'sanctuary' (or 'place of sacrifice,' *θυσιαστήριον*), and in two of these passages[3] there is a reference to the Eucharist in connexion with it. On this word *θυσιαστήριον* Lightfoot says[4]: '*θυσιαστήριον*, being at once the place of sacrifice and the court of the congregation, was used metaphorically for the Church of Christ.' The spiritual sacrifices of the Church were concentrated in the Eucharist, which was the supreme offering. Ignatius however does not, like the *Didache*, use the term 'sacrifice' (*θυσία*) to denote this offering, but speaks simply of the 'thank-offering' (*ἡ εὐχαριστία*)[5]. Elsewhere he emphasizes the conception of the Eucharist as a communion feast upon the flesh and blood of Christ[6].

The passage in Pliny's letter to Trajan (*Ep.* x. 96 (97)), written in 112 A.D., is referred to by Lightfoot (*Ignatius* i. 52 n.) as an indication that the Eucharist

[1] *Eph.* 5, 13; *Magn.* 7; *Smyrn.* 6.
[2] *Eph.* 5; *Trall.* 7; *Philad.* 4; *Magn.* 7.
[3] *Eph.* 5; *Philad.* 4.
[4] See his note on *Eph.* 5.
[5] On his use of the word see Hort, *J. Th. St.* iii. 595.
[6] *Philad.* 4; *Smyrn.* 6; cp. *Eph.* 5. 20; *Rom.* 7.

had been separated from the Agape in Pliny's time. Pliny records that the Christians met before dawn on a fixed day (*stato die*: probably Sunday), and sang a hymn by turns (*inuicem, i.e.* 'antiphonally') to Christ as God, and bound themselves by an oath (*sacramento*) to abstain from certain crimes. Later in the day they met again for an ordinary and common meal[1], which, however, Pliny's informants (who were apostate Christians) asserted that they had given up after the Emperor's edict. Lightfoot concludes that the earlier gathering was for the Eucharist and the later for the Agape. But this conclusion is doubtful. The 'ordinary and harmless meal' may well refer to the Eucharist, the phrase being used with reference to heathen suspicions as to the character of the Christian meals. It is possible, however, that in consequence of the Emperor's edict, some change may have been effected, *e.g.* the common meal may have been given up, and the Eucharist, with this modification, transferred to the earlier hour[2]. The language used by Pliny's informants suggests that they are referring to something which bore the character of a meal, rather than of a formal rite, such as the Eucharist is shewn to have been in Justin's time. In that case, the earlier gathering referred to may have corresponded to the later vigil service which preceded the Sunday liturgical gathering[3]. But we must admit that no certain

[1] Pliny's words are *cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.*

[2] Cf. Goguel, *L'Eucharistie*, p. 264.

[3] See Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire romain*, p. 4.

conclusions can be drawn from the language of Ignatius and Pliny with regard to the relations of the Agape and the Eucharist in the early years of the second century in Syria and Bithynia.

Justin Martyr's *First Apology* written about the middle of the second century contains two accounts of the Eucharist (ch. 65—67). The former (ch. 65, 66) refers to the baptismal Eucharist, the latter (ch. 67) to the Sunday gathering. There are also incidental references in the *Dialogue with Trypho* (see esp. ch. 41). By putting together these accounts we obtain the following scheme of the service:

(1) Lections, consisting of 'memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets' (c. 67)[1].

(2) Sermon by the 'president' (ὁ προεστώς, *ibid.*).

(3) Common prayers for all men, said standing (chs. 65, 67).

(4) The kiss of peace (c. 65).

(5) Presentation to the president of bread and a cup of wine and water (chs. 65, 67).

(6) Praise, prayer, and thanksgiving, offered to the Father through the Son and Holy Spirit, for the creation of the world and all that therein is for man's sake, and for deliverance from evil, and redemption through the Passion (*Ap.* i. 65; *Dial.* 41). This is offered by the president and is extempore (ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, c. 67; cf. *Did.* 10). It is responded to by the congregation with the Amen (c. 67).

[1] Note Justin's reference to ὁ ἀναγινώσκων (*Ap.* i. 67), and on the rise of the order of 'readers' see C. H. Turner, *Cambridge Medieval History*, i. 149; Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, pp. 85 f.

(7) The deacons administer to those present the bread and the cup over which thanks have been given, and convey them to the absent (chs. 65, 67).

Mention is also made of the collection of alms, which are kept by the president and distributed to the relief of the needy (c. 67). Justin further says that this consecrated food is called 'Eucharist' (c. 66), and that the 'bread of the Eucharist' is 'offered as a memorial of the Passion' (*Dial.* 41). In this connexion he refers, like the author of the *Didache*, to Malachi i. 11.

In discussing the significance of the Eucharist Justin says 'As through the Word of God Jesus Christ our Saviour was incarnate and took flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food over which thanks have been given through the prayer of the Word (or 'word of prayer'; δι' εὐχῆς λόγου)[1] which is from him (τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ), by which food our blood and flesh are nourished by assimilation, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who became incarnate[2].' These words have given rise to much discussion. Brightman[3] translates the words δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ, 'the word of prayer which came from him,' and sees in them a reference to the liturgical thanksgiving based upon the thanksgiving pronounced at the Last Supper by Jesus over the bread and the cup. Others understand Justin to refer to the Logos or Word (λόγου being understood

[1] Other suggested renderings are 'the prayer of the word' or 'the word of the prayer.'

[2] *Ap.* i. 66. [3] *J. Th. St.* i. 112.

in a personal sense), while the words 'which is from him' will then refer to God, according to a terminology found elsewhere in Justin and also in Athenagoras[1]. This interpretation has the advantage of bringing out the parallelism between the operative power of the Logos in the Incarnation and in the Eucharist, which is suggested by Justin's language. The attribution to the Logos of functions which later on were associated with the Holy Ghost is a feature of the theology of Justin[2] and represents an early phase of thought of which, as we shall see, there may be indications in Irenaeus[3], while the association of the Logos with the Eucharist appears to have been traditional at Alexandria[4].

Some writers, on the strength of the supposed parallel afforded by the invocation of the Logos in the liturgy of Sarapion, suggest that Justin's liturgy contained an express invocation of the Logos. But it is hazardous to read into Justin's obscure and condensed language such an explicit reference to the existence of forms employed later on in the Eucharist. Where he is actually describing the service, in *both cases* the emphasis is on the 'thanksgiving[5],' and the

[1] See E. Bishop in Appendix to Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Texts and Studies, viii. 1), pp. 158 ff. The words λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ would then correspond to the preceding λόγου θεοῦ (for parallels to λόγος ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ (= παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ) see Justin, *Ap.* i. 6, 32, 33; Athenagoras, *Legat.* 4, 6, 10, 12).

[2] For the operation of the Logos in the Incarnation see *Ap.* i. 33, 46.

[3] p. 40 f. [4] pp. 50, 55.

[5] c. 65 αἶνον καὶ δόξαν...ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν...ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται. οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν: *ibid.*

same statement is true of his description in the *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 41), where he gives the general tenour of this thanksgiving. As Batiffol[1] says, his description recalls the prayers of the *Didache* and the Gnostic *Acts of John*. The same is the case when Justin describes the Last Supper in justification of the Christian practice and in support of the beliefs entertained about it[2]. While omitting other features recorded by the Evangelists, he emphasizes the 'giving of thanks' by Christ in the case of both the bread and the cup[3]. This suggests that in the passage under discussion, when he speaks of the 'prayer of the Word,' he is thinking of the 'giving of thanks' by Christ at the Last Supper. The sketch which Justin gives of the Sunday Eucharist shews that the separation of the Eucharist from the Agape had already been effected, and 'the service of the word[4],' which in later times was known as the *Missa catechumenorum*, consisting of lessons from the Old and New Testaments, a sermon, and prayers, had established itself as the introductory portion of the liturgy. This preliminary 'service of the word' shews the influence of the religious services of the Jewish synagogues, which included the same three

εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος...διδόασιν...μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου: c. 67 εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας... ἀναπέμπει: ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων.

[1] *Études*, ii. (1905), p. 141.

[2] c. 66.

[3] Cf. Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[4] Cf. Tertullian, *de Cult. fem.* ii. 11, *aut* sacrificium offertur, *aut* dei sermo administratur. In Acts vi. 4 ἡ διακονία τοῦ λόγου is used of the ministry of preaching.

elements, prayers, lessons, and homily[1]. But at what period before the time of Justin it came to be attached to the Eucharist proper our evidence does not enable us to say. As we have seen[2], it is probable that, though there may have been originally two types of Christian gatherings, the one Eucharistic, and the other consisting of prayers, readings, psalms and lessons, some of the elements of the latter were associated quite early, if not from the first, with the Christian sacred meal. The separation of the common meal from the Eucharist proper would facilitate the developement of these features in the service[3].

The Kiss of Peace is mentioned as having been given at the close of the prayers—a position which it occupied in the East in later times. Then the bread and wine of the brethren are brought to the president: and herein we see the beginnings of what afterwards became the ritual offertory, though in Justin's day it would be quite informal. Whether the alms of which Justin speaks were presented at this point of the service we cannot say. The Eucharistic prayer is still extempore in character[4], though it is based on a fixed theme, and commemorates God's work in creation and redemption. This corresponds in its general idea and plan to the Anaphora of the Eastern liturgies as it appears in the Apostolic Constitutions and Cyril of Jerusalem. The Amen with

[1] See ch. viii. [2] See p. 18.

[3] See further on the question Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques* pp. 334 f.

[4] Note εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει (c. 67).

which the people respond at the close of the Eucharistic prayer finds a place in several early accounts of the liturgy (*e.g.* Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Augustine). The administration of the communion is assigned by Justin to the deacons, who also carry the consecrated elements to those who are absent. This early prominence of the deacons in connexion with the Eucharist was later on restricted, and the question arose whether they might give communion to the presbyters. They still retained however the duty of administering the chalice[1].

The only other writer of the second century to whom reference need be made is Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons in South Gaul, who in his work *adversus Haereses*, written about 180 A.D., has several incidental references to the Eucharist. The various titles under which he alludes to it are 'Eucharist,' 'the oblation of the Church,' 'the new oblation of the new covenant,' 'the pure sacrifice' (in reference to Mal. i. 11)[2]. While Justin emphasizes the offering of the Eucharist as a memorial of the Passion[3], in Irenaeus the leading thought is that the Eucharist is an offering of the first-fruits of the earth as an expression of gratitude to God and as sanctifying the creature[4]. At the same time he connects these ideas with the fact that Christ acknowledged the bread to be His body and the cup His blood and 'taught us the new oblation of the new covenant, which the

[1] On the whole question see Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, pp. 46 f.; Bright, *Canons of First Four Gen. Councils*, pp. 59 f.; C. H. Turner, *Cambridge Medieval History*, I. 149, 154 f.

[2] iv. 17. 5; 18. 1, 4. [3] *Dial.* 41. [4] iv. 17. 5; 18. 6.

Church receiving from the Apostles offers throughout the whole world to God[1].' From his references to the rite we may gather that it included: (1) 'an offering of the first-fruits of the creatures' (afterwards explained as 'bread' and 'the cup')[2]: (2) a thanksgiving pronounced over them[3]: (3) in connexion with this thanksgiving Irenaeus speaks of the bread and cup as 'receiving the invocation of God' or 'receiving the word of God' (whatever precise meaning we may attach to this ambiguous expression), in virtue of which they become the Eucharist, *i.e.* the body and blood of Christ[4]. Whether this 'invocation' (ἐπίκλησις) is a distinct part of the prayer of thanksgiving or is identical with it, the language of Irenaeus does not enable us to decide conclusively. In favour of the latter view it might be urged that in speaking of the prayer in virtue of which the bread is constituted the body of Christ, he uses the words 'bread over which thanks have been given[5]' as synonymous with the words 'bread receiving the invocation of God.' On the other hand it is possible that a *formal* invocation of the divine power upon the elements was already making its way into the churches in the time of Irenaeus, and, as we shall see[6], the evidence of Gnostic practices points to its existence in heretical circles. In the other passage referred to, in which Irenaeus speaks of the elements as 'receiving the word of God[7],' it is possible that, as in Justin, there is a reference to the personal 'Word' or Logos, and

[1] iv. 17. 5. [2] *ibid.* [3] iv. 18. 4. [4] iv. 18. 5; v. 2. 3.
[5] iv. 18. 4. [6] pp. 43 f. [7] v. 2. 3.

that this language may be explained by the previous statement[1] that on receiving the invocation 'the bread is no longer common bread, but Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly element and a heavenly[2].'

On the benefits of communion Irenaeus has much to say, and, like Ignatius[3], he emphasizes the idea that the Eucharist imparts life to the body and soul of man, preserving them from corruption, and guaranteeing to them the hope of the resurrection[4].

Like Justin, Irenaeus refers to the mixed cup of wine and water[5], and in another passage he alludes to the 'altar in heaven' to which the prayers and oblations are directed[6]. This is the first appearance in patristic literature of an idea which finds frequent expression in the later liturgies[7].

The period which has been passed in review in the present chapter exhibits considerable developement in connexion with the Eucharist. The home-like communion feast of early apostolic days, in being divorced from its setting in a common meal, has taken on the character of a more formal act of worship. This transition was in progress already in the days of St Paul. It appears still more in the account which the *Didache* gives of the Sunday

[1] iv. 18. 5.

[2] For Justin see pp. 35 f., and on the personal sense of λόγος in these passages cf. E. Bishop in Connolly's *Narsai*, pp. 136 f. For the other sense of 'word of God' reference is made to 1 Tim. iv. 5, which however appears to have been interpreted in the personal sense (= Word) by Origen and Gregory of Nyssa. See pp. 50, 120.

[3] *Eph.* 20. [4] iv. 18. 5. [5] v. 2. 3.

[6] iv. 18. 6. [7] Cf. also *de Sacramentis*, iv. 6. 27.

worship, and in the few references supplied by Clement of Rome. With the conceptions of an 'offering of gifts' (Clement), a Christian 'sacrifice' (*Didache*)[1], a memorial offering connected with the Passion (Justin), a 'new oblation of the new covenant,' parallel to, though expressing a different spirit from, the sacrifices of the old covenant (Irenaeus), the Eucharist entered upon a new developement, which finally severed it from its local Jewish origin and its association with Jewish meals.

As we have seen, Justin is the first writer after St Paul who brings the Eucharist into connexion with the Last Supper, and the first to attest the conjunction with it of the preparatory 'service of the word.' Similarly Irenaeus is the first writer who appears to attest the existence of an invocation in the Eucharistic service. These points need to be borne in mind, as constituting landmarks in the developement of the rite.

The references to liturgical customs and practices among the Gnostics have been collected by Struckmann, *Die Gegenwart Christi in der hl. Eucharistie nach den schriftl. Quellen der vornizän. Zeit*, pp. 90 f., and Woolley, *Liturgy of Primitive Church*, pp. 53 f., 138 f.

(1) Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* i. 13. 2) gives a description of the liturgy celebrated among the followers of the Valentinian Marcus. A mixed cup of wine and water is

[1] See *Did.* 14 *κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾖ. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν* (Mt v. 23 f.), *ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου· Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ κτλ.* (cf. Mal. i. 11).

placed before Marcus, who pronounces a thanksgiving over it (εὐχαριστεῖν), and while he prolongs the word of invocation (τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως) he causes the contents of the cup to assume a purple and ruddy colour, so that in virtue of the invocation (διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως) 'Grace (χάρις) distils her blood into the cup.'

(2) In the *Pistis Sophia*, an Ophite work, which in its present form dates from the first part of the third century and is of Egyptian origin, we have an account of a complicated ritual containing elements suggestive of the Christian sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. The portion of the *Pistis Sophia* in which it is contained (Book iv.) appears to be older than the remaining portions of the work. The account contains a mention of bread and a cup of wine, and at the moment when the invocation is pronounced the wine on the right of the 'oblation' (θυσία) is changed into water. The disciples come before Jesus, who baptizes them and distributes the offering (προσφορά) to them, and 'seals (σφραγίζει) them with this seal.'

(3) In the Gnostic Acts of John (*circa* 150—180 A.D.) and of Thomas (early in the third century) there are some liturgical forms connected with the Eucharist. In the *Acts of John* (ed. Bonnet (1898), c. 85) we find a thanksgiving over the Eucharistic food, which, like the prayers in the *Didache*, seems to be an adaptation of the grace at meals and contains no Invocation. Cf. also c. 109.

On the other hand, in the *Acts of Thomas*, which are later in date, we find (cc. 49—50, 133, ed. Bonnet (1903)) two forms of Eucharistic prayer, both of which contain Invocations. The latter of the two prayers is as follows: 'Come, prayer of the blessing, and let the bread be established, that all the souls who partake may be washed from their sins.' In c. 158 there is a Eucharistic formula which is a prayer for communicants.

Of the Syriac Acts of Thomas published by Wright (*Apocr. Acts*, E. tr. II. 146 f.) and cited by Woolley (*Lit. of*

Prim. Church, p. 141 f.), Preuschen (in Hennecke, *Neutest. Apokryphen* (1904), p. 475) says that their value is impaired by the fact that they have been revised in a Catholic sense.

On the dates of the Acts of John and Thomas see Preuschen in Hennecke, *op. cit.* pp. 423 f., 479.

This evidence is of interest in two ways. (1) It supplements and confirms the evidence derived from other second century sources as to the character of the liturgical developements of the period. Thus it throws some light incidentally on the prayers of the *Didache*, and shews that the style of prayer exhibited in them was not so abnormal as has commonly been supposed. In the *Acts of John*, as in the *Didache*, the central act of the liturgy is a thanksgiving, in which there is only a general reference to the blessings of salvation, with no mention of the Last Supper or the Body and Blood of Christ. On the other hand, in the later *Acts of Thomas* the language is more explicit in its references to the Body and Blood and to the Passion, and we find prayers which have the character of Invocations.

(2) In one respect the evidence of these Gnostic sources advances beyond that of the writers referred to in this chapter. The reference to the Invocation in the account of Marcus and in the narrative of the *Pistis Sophia*, while it supports the evidence derived from Irenaeus, goes beyond it in the greater definiteness with which it seems to associate the Invocation with the moment of consecration—a developement which appears in Catholic circles in the East only at a later period.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE LITURGY AT ALEXANDRIA AND IN EGYPT

Until recent times the materials available for the study of the early history of the Egyptian liturgy were of the most meagre description. The vague and scanty references contained in the Christian writings of Alexandrine origin, and the comparatively late date of our earliest manuscripts of the liturgies connected with the Church of Egypt (the earliest dating from the twelfth century), rendered the task of reconstructing the course of liturgical developement in this part of Christendom extremely precarious. The discovery in 1899 of the liturgical prayers ascribed to Sarapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta, has however thrown a fresh light on this obscure part of the subject and has enabled us to trace the existence in the fourth century of a specifically Egyptian type of liturgy and to shew its general relations to the type found in Syria and elsewhere.

A preliminary difficulty meets us in dealing with the early liturgy in Egypt. During the last twenty years much attention has been devoted to the Church Orders, and to some of these scholars have commonly

assigned an Egyptian origin[1]. The Church Orders which have a special importance for the purpose of this book, as containing liturgical forms and prayers, or describing the celebration of the Eucharist, are as follows:

(1) The Ethiopic Church Order, which contains a text of the prayers of the liturgy[2]. A Latin version of these prayers is found in the Verona fragments published by Hauler[3]. The anaphora contained in these texts is the foundation of the normal anaphora of the Ethiopic Church[4].

(2) *The Testament of our Lord*[5], which also contains a text of the prayers of the liturgy related in some respects to (1). From this is derived the Ethiopic *Anaphora of our Lord*[6].

(3) The Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons (can. 64), which contain rubrics of the service, without the text of the prayers. This section of the work, however, appears to be founded on the Apostolic Constitutions, with modifications intended to bring it into conformity with the ideas of a later age[7].

It should be noted that there is no trace of the

[1] See *e.g.* the discussion in Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, pp. 161 f.

[2] For text see *LEW.* 189—193.

[3] Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina*, I.

[4] For text see *LEW.* 228 f.

[5] English translation by Cooper-Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord.*

[6] English translation in Cooper-Maclean, *Testament*, App. I.

[7] See Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 23, and cf. E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xiv. 56. For the text see *LEW.* App. A. I., pp. 461—463.

influence of (1) and (2) on the liturgies belonging to the region of Alexandria (Sarapion and St Mark), but that their influence is found only in the remote region of Ethiopia, *i.e.* in the Abyssinian Church. But though the liturgical formulae represented in (1) and (2) have thus been naturalized in Egypt, mention ought to be made of the opinion of some scholars, that they are really Syrian and belong to the patriarchate of Antioch[1]. If this view should be eventually established, the treatment of the formulae mentioned above would more properly find a place in the chapter devoted to the liturgy of Antioch and Syria. But space forbids us to pursue the matter further here. It is enough, while practically acquiescing in the hitherto dominant view, to indicate the possibilities of the future.

The earliest of the Alexandrine Fathers, Clement, supplies few allusions to the liturgy. In his description of the Christian life as a life of thanksgiving he refers to 'divine reading, true enquiry, holy offering, blessed prayer' as forms of the activity in which that life expressed itself, and speaks of the soul as praising, hymning, blessing, and singing psalms[2]. But he is more concerned with prayer as an expression of the inner converse of the heart with God than with its public expression in worship. If Christians 'raise the head and lift the hands towards heaven,

[1] For the views of Funk see *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften* (Mainz, 1901). Cf. also the remarks of E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xiv. 56. For a useful review of modern discussions see Bardenhewer, *Patrology* (Eng. tr., 1908), pp. 353 f.

[2] *Strom.* vi. 14 (p. 797, Potter).

and stand on tiptoe as they join in the closing outburst of prayer[1],' it is because they seek to follow the eager flight of the spirit into the intelligible world[2].

Elsewhere he alludes to the kiss of peace[3], and the offering of bread and of wine mixed with water, and mentions the custom of some who used water alone[4]. He has been thought to refer to the *Sanctus* in a passage of the *Stromateis*[5], where he speaks of 'giving thanks always to God, like the creatures which give glory to God in Isaiah's allegory.' Lastly, he refers to the Fraction, and the practice (of which he apparently disapproves) of allowing the communicants to take each his portion, instead of receiving it at the hands of others[6].

The references of Origen are fuller, though incidental in character, much of the evidence commonly adduced being of doubtful value. He implies the distinction between the two parts of the service, the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium*[7], and

[1] The words κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς εὐχῆς συνεκφώνησιν may refer to the final Amen in the public prayers. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16; Justin, *Ap.* i. 65.

[2] *Strom.* vii. 7 (p. 854, Potter).

[3] *Paed.* iii. 11 (p. 301, Potter).

[4] *Strom.* i. 19 (p. 375, Potter) [5] vii. 12 (p. 880, Potter).

[6] *Strom.* i. 1 (p. 318, Potter). The relations of the Agape and the Eucharist in the time of Clement have been much discussed. Bigg (*Chr. Platonists*, pp. 102 f.) maintains their close association; Keating (*Agape*, pp. 79 f.) denies it. The two were certainly distinct in Rome and Carthage at this period.

[7] See the reference to the *disciplina arcani* in *in Lev.* ix. 10. On the *disciplina arcani* see Batiffol, *Études*, I. 1 f.; Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen*, III. 42 f.

the presence of catechumens at the sermon[1]. The lessons included passages from the Old Testament and were followed by expositions and exhortations[2]. Many of the homilies of Origen on the Scriptures were of this character. The sermon was followed by prayers said standing[3]. In this connexion Origen in one passage speaks of praying to God 'that we may be worthy to offer Him gifts, which He may restore to us, and bestow upon us in Christ Jesus *heavenly things in exchange for earthly*[4].' From the parallel between these last words and similar language found in the deacon's litany of the Apostolic Constitutions and in the intercessions in the Preface of St Mark's Liturgy, it has been suggested that Origen is here quoting a liturgical formula. But the idea is Scriptural and a commonplace of Christian thought[5]. Origen refers to the kiss of peace[6] following the prayers, and to the offering of the gifts of bread and wine[7].

[1] *in Luc. hom.* vii.

[2] *in Exod. hom.* xiii. 1; *c. Cels.* iii. 50.

[3] *in Num. hom.* xx. 5. With the formula 'et ideo surgentes oremus,' found in Origen, compare the African formula in Augustine 'conuersi ad dominum,' and Sarapion, *μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμιλίας εὐχή*.

[4] *in Luc. hom.* xxxix.

[5] Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 25; Jn iii. 12; 2 Cor. iv. 18. Another parallel with Lit. of St Mark is found in the prayer which Origen quotes in a homily on Jeremiah (xiv. 14), 'Grant us our portion (*μερίδα*) with the prophets. Grant us our portion with the Apostles of the Lord.' Cf. *LEW.* 129. 18. This again was a commonplace. Cf. Col. i. 12, and see E. Bishop in *J. Th. St.* x. 595 f.

[6] *in Rom.* x. 33.

[7] *in Luc. hom.* xxxix; *c. Cels.* viii. 34 (*τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀποδίδομεν*).

Brightman sees possible reminiscences of Eucharistic preface-forms in some words of Origen's treatise *Against Celsus*[1], in which he says:

> And if we wish to have besides a number of beings whom we desire to find friendly, we learn that thousand thousands stood before Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand ministered unto Him, and these regarding all as their kinsmen and friends who imitate their piety towards God...work along with them for their salvation.

In a passage of his *Homilies on Leviticus*[2] Origen alludes to the commemoration of the Passion made in the Eucharist, in accordance with the command 'do this in remembrance of Me,' and speaks of it as 'making God propitious to men' (he is comparing the Jewish shewbread and the Christian Eucharist). He refers more than once to the prayer pronounced over the elements. Thus he speaks of the 'bread sanctified by the Word of God and prayer[3],' of the holy food as becoming 'profitable in virtue of the prayer pronounced over it[4],' and of the loaves which are offered with thanksgiving and prayer as becoming 'on account of the prayer' a certain holy body, which sanctifies those who use it with right purpose[5].' Elsewhere he has been thought to refer to the *Sancta sanctis*[6].

[1] viii. 34. Cf. *LEW.* 508, n. 18.

[2] *in Lev. hom.* xiii. 3.

[3] *in Matt.* xi. 14. Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 5. Λόγου is probably personal in Origen's view. See p. 41 n., and cf. E. Bishop in Connolly's *Narsai*, p. 156.

[4] *in Matt. l. c.* [5] *c. Cels.* viii. 33.

[6] *in Lev. hom.* xiii. 5, 6. Note the words 'sancta enim sanctorum sunt.' But this must not be pressed.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (247—265 A.D.), has a few passing allusions to liturgical customs. He speaks of the Eucharistic prayer and the Amen at its close, and of the communicant standing at the altar and putting forth his hands to receive the holy food[1]. He also refers to the custom of carrying or sending the Eucharist to the sick[2].

The writings of the Egyptian Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries enable us to supplement the fragmentary references of Origen. Of the arrangement of the churches we have several notices. The sanctuary, which the laity might not enter, was screened off by a lattice or rail (*κάγκελλοι, κιγκλίδες*). Altar veils are mentioned by Synesius about 411 A.D. Within was the altar, sometimes made of wood, sometimes a slab supported on pillars. The bishop's throne and the seats of the clergy around the altar are also referred to. Mention is made of the pallium (*ὠμοφόριον*) worn by the bishop, of the deacon's stole (*ὀθόνη*), and of the use of albs (*στοιχάρια λινᾶ*)[3]. These elaborations exhibit the considerable developements which took place in the furniture and appointments of the churches during the fourth and fifth centuries.

Athanasius, describing a vigil service which preceded the communion, mentions the reading of lessons, and also refers to the deacon as reading a psalm to which the people make response 'for His mercy

[1] *Ep. ad Xystum* (ed. Feltoe, p. 58).

[2] *Ep. ad Fab.* (ed. Feltoe, pp. 20 f.), where the priest, who is himself sick, allows a boy to carry the Eucharist to the sick man.

[3] For the references see *LEW.* 506.

endureth for ever[1].' Macarius similarly refers to the lessons and psalmody which precede the celebration of the mysteries[2]. The story of Antony supplies evidence of the reading of the Gospel[3]. From Sozomen we learn that it was the exclusive right of the archdeacon at Alexandria to read the Gospel, and that when it was read the bishop did not rise from his seat, contrary to the custom of other churches[4]. Athanasius refers to the fact that the catechumens were not allowed to be present at the mysteries[5], and Cyril of Alexandria speaks of their departure before the more solemn parts of the service began[6]. Cyril[7] also refers to the various proclamations made by the deacons during the service, including their bidding to stand for prayer. We find repeated allusions to prayers for the Emperor, one such form being quoted by Athanasius[8]. In Cyril's *Letter to John of Antioch*[9] he says, 'We have been taught to say in prayers (ἐν προσευχαῖς) "Lord our God, grant us peace: for thou hast given us all things".' The same words occur in one of the 'three prayers' of the Coptic Liturgy[10]. But it would be precarious to quote this text as evidence for the liturgy in Cyril's day, for (1) Cyril does not expressly refer to the *liturgy*: (2) the words

[1] *Hist. Arian.* 81; *de Fuga* 24. For the respond see p. 100.
[2] *de Charitate* 29. [3] *Vita Antonii* 2, 3.
[4] *H. E.* vii. 19. Elsewhere, as we learn from Isidore (*Epp.* i. 136), the bishop rose at the Gospel and put off his pallium.
[5] *Ap. c. Arian.* 28, 46.
[6] *de Ador. in Spir. et Verit.* xii. (i. *b.* 445, ed. Aubert).
[7] *Ibid.* xiii. (p. 454). Cf. the Coptic ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σταθῆτε (*LEW.* 158. 35). [8] *Ap. ad Const.* 10.
[9] *Ep. ad Ioann. Ant.* (v. *c.* 105). [10] *LEW.* 160. 20.

are a literal reproduction of the LXX. of Is. xxvi. 12: (3) the Coptic litany referred to is quite different from that of the Greek St Mark at this point of the service, and as Brightman indicates[1] is borrowed from the Coptic morning service: (4) the difference of the two litanies (St Mark and the Coptic) suggests, as Mr E. Bishop has pointed out to me, that their insertion in both cases took place at a time when the Greek and Coptic texts had already bifurcated.

Cyril further refers to the salutation, 'Peace be with you all,' and the response, as uttered at the 'very beginning of the mysteries[2].' Timothy of Alexandria alludes to a proclamation by the deacon, bidding non-communicants withdraw before the kiss of peace[3].

Athanasius[4] refers to the presentation and offering of the oblations, and the custom still survived at Alexandria towards the end of the century, for we find Theophilus (whose episcopate covered the period 385—412 A.D.) directing in one of his Canons that what remained over from the offerings, after there had been taken from them the portions needed for the mysteries, was to be distributed among the clergy and the faithful, and that catechumens were not to partake of them[5]. The Egyptian writers of the period give no clear information as to the place which this

[1] *LEW.* 159 n.

[2] *in Ioann.* xii. 1 (iv. 1093). Brightman places the salutation in connexion with the offertory (*LEW.* 504. 27 f.). But in the Coptic it precedes the prayer of the kiss of peace.

[3] *resp. can.* 9. [4] *Ap. c. Arian.* 28.

[5] *Can.* 7 (*P. G.* lxv. 41 A).

offering occupied in the liturgy. Probably it followed the kiss of peace, and, as Brightman points out, the liturgy of St Mark shews in the deacon's proclamations traces of the previous existence of the offertory at this point[1].

It is possible that the deacon's proclamation 'to stand in order and be quiet,' to which Cyril alludes, may belong to the beginning of the Anaphora, and that the further proclamation, bidding the people 'to sing a hymn of praise' (*ὑμνολογεῖν*), may have preceded the *Sanctus*[2]. Athanasius alludes to the commemoration of the hymn of the Seraphim in all the churches of the East and West in his time[3], and in the words in which both Athanasius and Didymus speak of the Seraphs' hymn there may be possibly reminiscences of liturgical forms[4].

In Cyril's third letter to Nestorius[5] we have what seems to be a clear reminiscence of the Anamnesis of the liturgy. His words are:

Proclaiming the death after the flesh of the only-begotten Son of God...and confessing his return to life

[1] *LEW.* 508, n. 13.

[2] Cyril, *de Ador. in Spir. et Verit.* xiii. (i. 454). The Coptic has *προσφέρειν κατὰ τρόμου* (*v.l. τρόπου*) *σταθῆτε* (*LEW.* 164. 8), and before the *Sanctus* the proclamation *προσχῶμεν*.

[3] *de Trin. et Spir. s.* 16.

[4] Ath., *in illud Omnia mihi* 6. Note *τὰ τίμια ζῷα ταῦτα*, and cf. Sarapion, *τὰ δύο τιμιώτατα σεραφείμ*, and St Mark (*LEW.* 131. 25). With Didymus, *de Trin.* ii. 6. 18 *ἀνταναφωνούντων ἀσιγήτοις στόμασι καὶ ἀκαταπαύστῳ φωνῇ*, cf. Mark, *A.C.*, James (*LEW.* 131. 28 f.; 18. 30; 50. 26 f.). Lastly, with Isidore (*Epp.* i. 151), *πολυόμματα ζῷα*, cf. Mark and James (*LEW.* 131. 26; 50. 23).

[5] v. 72 c (Aubert).

from the dead (*τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβίωσιν*) and his assumption into Heaven, we celebrate the unbloody sacrifice[1] in our churches, and thus approach the mystic blessings, and are sanctified, becoming partakers of the holy flesh and the precious blood of Christ the Saviour of us all.

The words underlined exhibit considerable parallelism with the Anamnesis in the liturgy of St Mark[2], with the exception that Cyril uses a different word to denote the resurrection (*ἀναβίωσις*; *ἀνάστασις* in St Mark). In both we find the addition 'from the dead,' and the reference to the Ascension[3].

The earliest reference to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit in Egyptian Church writers is found in Peter of Alexandria (the successor of Athanasius), who speaks of the 'holy altar where we invoke the descent of the Holy Spirit[4].' Theophilus of Alexandria attributes the consecration of the elements to 'the invocation and advent of the Holy Spirit[5],' and similarly Isidore of Pelusium[6]. On the other hand, Athanasius, in accordance with what appears to have been the Alexandrine tradition (*e.g.* Clement and Origen), connects the consecration with the operation of the Logos, and says, 'when the great prayers and holy supplications have been sent up, the Word comes down into the bread and the cup, and they

[1] *θυσίαν*: *v.l.* *λατρείαν* = 'service.'

[2] *LEW.* 133. 22 f. Cf. St James (*LEW.* 52. 21 f.).

[3] The words 'from the dead' are not found in the Coptic or Abyssinian, though both contain the reference to the Ascension.

[4] See Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 19.

[5] *Lib. paschal.* i. (in Jerome, *Ep.* xcviii. 13).

[6] *Epp.* i. 313.

become His Body[1].' Cyril alludes to the Fraction[2]. The use of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy is referred to by Synesius[3], but there is no mention of it in Cyril, and fourth-century evidence for it is wanting. There is no explicit reference to the *Sancta sanctis* in the liturgy in any Egyptian father earlier than Cyril[4] (see however p. 50). Lastly Athanasius speaks of the dismissal[5].

Reference has been made earlier in the present chapter to the liturgy contained in the Ethiopic Church Order, of which we have also an ancient Latin translation (made independently of the Ethiopic) in the Verona Fragments published by Hauler[6]. Whatever be the date and *provenance* of the Church Order in which it is embedded[7], this liturgy is undoubtedly of the utmost value to the student of early liturgy. The description which it gives occurs in connexion with the consecration of a bishop. After his consecration he is to receive the kiss of peace from all,

[1] *ad nuper baptizatos* (*P. G.* xxvi. 1325).

[2] See catena quoted in *LEW.* 508, n. 21.

[3] *de Regno*, p. 9 (reading Πάτερ ἡμῶν ἐκβοῶσαι).

[4] *in Ioann.* xii. (iv. 1086). Didymus shews acquaintance with the formula Εἷς ἅγιος κτλ., but does not connect it with the liturgy. See *LEW.* 509, n. 26.

[5] *Hist. Arian.* 55.

[6] For text see Hauler, *op. cit.* 106, 107 (Latin); for the Ethiopic see Horner, *Statutes of Apostles*, 139 f. There is a parallel account as far as the opening words of the Preface in the Coptic (Horner, p. 307; this is the *Egyptian Church Order* of Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 8), and in the Canons of Hippolytus, c. iii. (Achelis).

[7] See Maclean, *op. cit.* pp. 160 f.; Funk, *Das Testament unseres Herrn u. die verwandten Schriften* (1901), pp. 29 f.

and then the deacons are to bring to him the oblation, and he is to lay his hands upon it 'with all the presbyters,' and then say the thanksgiving. This is prefaced with the salutation in the form, 'The Lord be with you,' followed by the response 'and with thy spirit.' Then follows the dialogue of the Preface 'Lift up your hearts,' to which response is made 'we have them with the Lord.' Again the bishop says 'Let us give thanks to the Lord,' and the people respond 'it is meet and right.' The Eucharistic thanksgiving is short, and commemorates the Incarnation, Passion, and Institution of the Eucharist. The account of the institution is simple and undeveloped[1]. A short Anamnesis and oblation follow in the form:

> Remembering therefore his death and resurrection we offer thee the bread and the cup, giving thanks to thee that thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister unto thee[2].

The Invocation is simple in character. It contains no prayer (as in later forms) for the operation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements that they may become the Body and Blood of Christ, but has in view the blessings to be obtained from Communion. It runs as follows in the Ethiopic text[3]:

> And we beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation of the Church, that in joining (them) together[4] thou mayest grant to them, to all of them, to them who take of it, that it may be to them for holiness and for

[1] The only later addition is 'which is broken' (of the bread).
[2] The Latin version is given.
[3] Horner, p. 141.
[4] The rendering is doubtful. The Latin has *in unum congregans des omnibus.*

filling (them) with the Holy Spirit, and for strengthening of faith in truth, that thee they may glorify and praise through thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The general form of this Invocation resembles that found in the Apostolic Constitutions, but the latter shews considerable developement and exhibits the hand of the compiler, who has not only expanded the form before him and introduced into it his own characteristic phraseology, but has also made the Invocation a prayer that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ[1]. We may therefore regard the Invocation given above as a primitive formula which goes back to an earlier stage of developement than that found in Cyril of Jerusalem, Sarapion, and the Apostolic Constitutions.

The account in the Verona Fragments concludes the Invocation with an ascription of praise to the Trinity, and then gives a prayer for the blessing of oil and 'cheese and olives' (these last words are omitted in the Ethiopic Church Order). This finds a parallel in the Canons of Hippolytus[2], where provision is made at the close of the Eucharistic prayer for the blessing of oil and first-fruits, followed in each case by the *Gloria patri*[3].

Here the account in the Verona Fragments ends, but the Ethiopic Church Order supplies further forms

[1] The actual words are: καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα... ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ σου κτλ.

[2] c. iii.

[3] Similarly in the Roman rite the consecration of oils on Maundy Thursday, and the blessing of first-fruits on Ascension Day take place before the *per quem haec omnia* at the end of the Canon.

beginning with the doxology of the people 'As it was, is, and shall be to generation of generation, and to age of age. Amen.' This forms the response of the people to the Eucharistic prayer, and finds a parallel in Sarapion[1]. It is followed by two prayers for communicants said by the bishop, with a bidding by the deacon, 'Pray ye,' before the second, at the conclusion of which there is a blessing by the bishop, preceded by the deacon's bidding 'As ye stand, bow down your heads.' The *Sancta sanctis* follows in the form 'Holiness to the saints,' with the response 'One Holy Father, one Holy Son, one is the Holy Spirit.' The communion is preceded by the salutation 'The Lord be with you all' and the response 'And with thy spirit,' after which occurs the rubric 'And then they shall lift up their hands for glorifying, and the people shall come in for the salvation of their souls, in order that their sins may be remitted.' A form of thanksgiving follows the communion. An imposition of hands with prayer by the presbyter, a final salutation by the bishop, and the dismissal by the deacon, conclude the account.

Bishop Maclean[2] regards the whole of this account in the Ethiopic Church Order which follows the blessing of oils as a later interpolation, owing to its absence from the Verona Fragments. But it exhibits some early features (notably the prayers for communicants and the absence of the intercessions) and is in accord with the general spirit of the rite as exhibited in the earlier portions.

[1] See p. 70. [2] *Ancient Church Orders*, pp. 39, 53.

The account of the baptismal Eucharist adds a few details to the above[1]. Directions are given for the fraction of the bread and its distribution with the formula 'This is the heavenly bread, the Body of our Lord Christ[2],' while the cup is administered with the words 'This is the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The communicants respond in each case 'Amen.' Milk and honey are given to the newly-baptized at the time of communion.

We may now proceed to consider some features of the liturgy described in the preceding account.

(1) The absence of all mention of the *Sanctus* may point to the fact that this was one of the elements which had not as yet attained a fixed place in the liturgy.

(2) The absence of Intercessions after the close of the Anaphora, when compared with the recital of names of the departed in Sarapion and the very full intercessions in the Apostolic Constitutions, is a further indication of early date.

(3) The absence of the Lord's Prayer accords with what we have already noticed with regard to the silence of Egyptian Church writers during the fourth century as to its use in the liturgy[3].

(4) The omission of the Fraction in the account of the Ethiopic Church Order is probably accidental, as it is referred to in the account of the baptismal Eucharist.

[1] Horner, pp. 155 f. Cp. Canons of Hippolytus, c. xix.

[2] The Latin has *panis caelestis in Christo Iesu*.

[3] See further, pp. 56, 70.

(5) The rubric enjoining the bishop to 'put his hand on the oblation *with the presbyters* and to say the thanksgiving' appears to refer to the practice of 'concelebration,' in which the presbyters were closely associated with the bishop in the celebration of the Eucharist[1].

The *Testament of our Lord*[2] is a document of uncertain date and *provenance*. Zahn and Maclean assign to it a date about 350 A.D., but Funk places it in the fifth century and Harnack also now inclines to a late date. The compiler appears to have had before him a liturgy almost identical with that of the Ethiopic Church Order for the portions between the Offertory and the Invocation, but he has expanded and freely interpolated his material. Hence the work cannot be adduced with any confidence as evidence for early usage, though it has preserved some primitive features derived from earlier sources. Like the Ethiopic Church Order it does not contain the *Sanctus* or the Lord's Prayer. The Invocation, addressed to the Trinity and in this respect perhaps not representing the original text, resembles that of the Ethiopic Church Order in character, in so far as it asks merely that the drink and food presented may be 'not for condemnation, not for reproach, not for destruction, but for the medicine and support of our spirit.' Other features are (1) the position of the *Sancta sanctis* which is found (with the response 'in heaven and on earth without ceasing') *after* the *Sursum corda*, not, as in other rites, before Communion: (2) the *Benedictus qui venit*, which comes, as in the Apostolic Constitutions, before the Communion, and does not include the Hosanna: (3) the service of prayers, psalmody, lessons and instruction provides for the dismissal of catechumens with laying on of hands, but no forms are given: (4) the deacon's

[1] See Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*[2], pp. 156 f.

[2] See Cooper-Maclean, *Testament of our Lord*, pp. 69 ff.

Ectene (or litany) exhibits a developed form, and concludes with a rubric directing the bishop to 'complete (the prayer[1])': (5) there is a short intercession *within* the Anaphora.

From the *Testament* is derived the Abyssinian *Anaphora of our Lord*[2], though the latter has been expanded with other material derived from the normal Abyssinian anaphora. The most characteristic feature of the *Anaphora of our Lord* is its insertion of an intercession in the middle of the Eucharistic thanksgiving, a feature which it shares with, and probably derives from, the normal Abyssinian rite, and which also appears in the Greek St Mark and the Coptic rite. But, as Mr E. Bishop has shewn[3], when resolved into its constituent elements, the *Anaphora of our Lord* ceases to be an independent witness to the liturgical customs of early times.

We may now pass to a document which is the most important discovery of recent times for the knowledge of the early liturgy in Egypt. The **Sacramentary of Sarapion**, Bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta, appears to have been written somewhere about 350—356 A.D. Its author was a friend of Athanasius. It contains a collection of prayers intended primarily for the use of a bishop. In the Eucharistic Preface the language of these prayers exhibits a close correspondence with the liturgy of St Mark, though in other respects they have a character distinct from that of other known forms. There are scarcely any rubrics, and the contents of

[1] The modern Abyssinian litany presents some close parallels with that of the Testament. See *LEW.* 206 f.

[2] English translation in Cooper-Maclean, *Testament*, App. I.

[3] *J. Th. St.* xii. 399 f.

the collection are arranged without regard to their proper order. This renders the reconstruction of their order a matter of some uncertainty[1]. In what follows the order suggested by Brightman has been adopted.

The preliminary *missa catechumenorum* is represented by 'the first prayer of the Lord's Day' (19), a prayer 'after the rising up from the sermon' (20), a prayer for catechumens (21), and a benediction (χειροθεσία) of catechumens (28). The first of these contains a petition for the Holy Spirit and for grace 'to learn the divine Scriptures from the Holy Spirit and to interpret clearly and worthily,' which recalls the prayer of St Mark's liturgy, entitled εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου[2], and which undoubtedly preceded the lessons, as does the prayer in St Mark[3]. There is nothing corresponding to the prayer in the other Eastern sources during the fourth century, and the evidence of Chrysostom seems to shew that at Antioch and Constantinople the lessons were simply preceded by the salutation.

The prayer after the sermon is illustrated by the words 'let us arise and pray,' which occur in some of Origen's sermons. There is a corresponding prayer

[1] For text see Wobbermin, *Texte u. Untersuch. Neue folge*, ii. 3 *b* (Leipzig, 1899); Brightman, *J. Th. St.* i. 99 f. There is an English translation in J. Wordsworth's *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book* (Early Church Classics), S.P.C.K., London, 2nd ed., 1910.

[2] Note especially the words in Mark, καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν εἰς κατανόησιν τῶν θείων σου λογίων.

[3] Bishop Wordsworth compares the title of this prayer with that of the Coptic 'first prayer of the morning,' but the position and substance of the two prayers are different.

after the Gospel in the Coptic rite[1], in which, as in Sarapion, there is a reference to the fruitful understanding of what has been read. The prayer for the catechumens and their benediction are the only prayers representing the ceremony of the dismissals. There is no mention of the dismissal of the penitents, such as we find in some other fourth century Eastern sources (see pp. 91, 100, 113, 116).

The prayers which follow cannot be arranged in their proper order with any certainty. They include a prayer for the people (27) and a benediction (χειροθεσία) of the people (29), a prayer and benediction of the sick (22, 30), a prayer for fruitfulness (23), for the Church (24), and for the bishop and the church (25); lastly a 'prayer of bending of the knee' (γονυκλισίας, 26).

The great wealth of prayers exhibited at this point of the service finds a parallel in the very full intercessions which appear in the Egyptian rites. In other fourth century Eastern sources we find in the corresponding position the deacon's litany and the bishop's prayers (Apostolic Constitutions), or the 'three prayers of the faithful' mentioned in the canons of the Council of Laodicea (can. 19)[2]. Bishop

[1] *LEW.* p. 157. Brightman (*J. Th. St.* i. 94) compares also the prayer ὁ ἐνηχήσας ἡμᾶς in the Greek St James.

[2] See pp. 101, 113. Duchesne, *Chr. Worship* (E. tr.), p. 79, thinks that all these prayers are not to be considered as part of the official *ordo liturgicus* of the Church of Thmuis, but that they are such as might be used at a non-liturgical service, or a liturgical service before the Anaphora. Brightman (*J. Th. S.* i. 95) thinks that the Egyptian use of 'table-prayers' on Wednesdays and Fridays

Wordsworth suggests that the 'prayer of bending of the knee' was intended as a form of confession of sin, preparatory to the offertory. It corresponds in its general substance to the Prayer of the Veil in the Coptic Liturgy[1], and is a prayer for cleansing and forgiveness.

There is no mention of the kiss of peace, though, as we have seen, the evidence of Clement and Origen points to its having found a place in the liturgy. Nor is there any mention of the people's offering, which, in the general absence of rubrics, is not surprising, though there is an allusion to those 'who have offered the offerings' in the prayers of the Anaphora.

There is no mention of the *Sursum Corda*, though this appears to be presupposed, as the Eucharistic prayer, which is entitled 'Offertory prayer of bishop Sarapion' (1), begins with the words 'It is meet and right,' which implies the usual framework of this portion of the liturgy. The introduction to the *Sanctus* is identical with the language of the Greek and Coptic St Mark, beginning with the words 'For thou art far above all rule and authority and power.' There is however no intercession interpolated before these words, as is the case in St Mark. Sarapion is free from the elaborations which in the Greek St Mark follow the words spoken of the Cherubim and

(Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22) may explain the multiplication of prayers here.

[1] *LEW.* 158. This prayer however is a comparatively late addition.

Seraphim, 'with twain they fly,' and proceeds at once with the words 'with whom receive also our hallowing (ἁγιασμόν) as we say 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth[1].' The *Sanctus* is quite simple and agrees with Isaiah vi. 3, except that it speaks of '*Heaven and* earth.' In this respect the *Sanctus* of Sarapion accords with that found in St Mark and the Abyssinian rite (except that the latter have the form '*holy* glory'), whereas the later Syrian, Byzantine and Roman forms add the *Hosanna* and *Benedictus qui venit*[2].

The correspondence of Sarapion with St Mark is continued in the words which follow the *Sanctus*. Like St Mark, Sarapion takes up the cue of the *Sanctus* from the word 'full' and resumes the thanksgiving in the form '*full* is the heaven, *full also* is the earth of thy excellent glory. Lord of Hosts, *fill also* this sacrifice with thy power and thy participation.' This again is an Egyptian characteristic, whereas in the Syrian form (Apostolic Constitutions and St James; so also St Basil) the cue is taken from the word 'holy,' and the thanksgiving continues 'holy art thou,' etc.

The section of the Anaphora which follows contains a preliminary form of Invocation 'Fill also this sacrifice

[1] The intervening passage in St Mark (*LEW.* 131. 25—132. 5) is a later insertion, partly borrowed from St James (*LEW.* 50. 26 f.) and partly due to independent elaboration. The Coptic (*LEW.* 175. 29—30) is nearer Sarapion, though it also has been retouched. Without these additions St Mark and the Coptic present substantially the same text as Sarapion.

[2] On the *Sanctus* in the Apostolic Constitutions see p. 103.

with thy power and thy participation,' *before* the recital of the Institution, in this resembling St Mark, and it combines the recital of the Institution with a statement of the purpose of the offering of the gifts. But whereas in the Syrian form contained in the Apostolic Constitutions the recital of the Institution leads up to the Anamnesis and Oblation, in Sarapion the account of the Institution, which is used to justify the offering of the bread and the cup, is preceded by the words 'to thee we have offered the bread, the likeness of the body of the Only-begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy body, for the Lord Jesus in the night,' etc., and similar words are spoken after the recital of the Institution. There is similar language before and after the recital of the institution of the cup[1].

The recital of the institution is simple in character, but contains a few additions which may be paralleled from later Egyptian rites[2]. There is no mention of the words 'he gave thanks' or 'do this in remembrance of me.' There is a peculiar rendering of the words spoken over the cup, the form being 'This is the new covenant, which (ὅ) is my blood, which is being shed for you for the remission of sins.' Lastly, between the two institutions there is a petition 'We beseech thee through this sacrifice be reconciled to all

[1] On the significance of this language, cf. ch. ix.

[2] Note (1) 'which is broken for remission of sins' after 'body.' Cf. St Mark and Coptic (*LEW.* 132. 30; 177. 5); (2) 'take' before 'drink.' Cf. Coptic (*LEW.* 177. 23); (3) 'He gave (said) to his own disciples' (based on Mk viii. 6). Cf. St Mark and Coptic (132. 22 f.; 177. 1 f.).

of us,' and a prayer for the gathering of the Church into one, which recalls the language of the *Didache*[1].

The Invocation is a prayer for the operation of the Word, and not, as in the Ethiopic Church Order and the Syrian fourth century sources, for the Holy Spirit. This accords with the evidence of Athanasius and with the spirit of the Alexandrine tradition reflected in Clement and Origen[2]. On the other hand the Invocation in Sarapion marks an advance upon that found in the Ethiopic Church Order in explicitly praying that the bread may become 'the body of the Word' and the cup the 'blood of the Truth[3].'

The Invocation is followed by a prayer for the congregation who are about to communicate that they may receive 'a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation...and not for censure and reproach[4].' The prayer continues 'Let this people receive mercy' and proceeds to ask for the companionship of angels to the people, 'for bringing to naught of the evil one and for establishment of the Church.' At this stage there occurs an intercession for the departed, with a rubric directing that the latter part of the intercession is to be said

[1] ix. 4. [2] See pp. 50, 55 f.

[3] On the word ἐπιδημεῖν used of the Logos see Brightman, *J. Th. St.* i. 97.

[4] For this prayer for communicants cf. the Ethiopic Church Order, Apostolic Constitutions, and the Litt. of SS. Mark, James, Basil, and Chrysostom, in all of which it immediately follows the Invocation.

'after the recital of the names' (*μετὰ τὴν ὑποβολὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων*). The prayer is resumed with a request to God to receive the thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστίαν*) of the people and to bless those who have offered the offerings and thanksgivings. The whole of this prayer from the words 'Let this people receive mercy' was regarded by the late Bishop of Salisbury as corresponding to the Great Intercession in the Greek liturgies. But Mr E. Bishop[1] has recently contended that in its general structure (apart from the clauses containing the intercession for the departed and the rubric on the recital of names) it is a continuation of the prayer for the communicants which immediately follows the Invocation. The communicants, 'this people' (or 'the people'), the offerers, are but different aspects of the same body, the congregation engaged in the Eucharistic service. Thus the spirit of this part of the anaphora in Sarapion would recall the similar spirit of the Ethiopic Church Order, where the prayers after the Invocation are concentrated upon the coming communion[2]. The conclusion which Mr E. Bishop draws from these features of the anaphora in question is that the recital of names of the departed with intercession for them was not an original practice in the rite represented in Sarapion, but was an importation. Sarapion is the earliest document in which such recital of names occurs, but the way in which Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the commemoration of the departed after the consecration

[1] *J. Th. S.* xiv. 27—36.

[2] See further on this subject, ch. viii.

suggests that the practice was already current at Jerusalem in the middle of the fourth century, and that it may have been imported thence into Egypt[1].

The closing words of the anaphora are 'through the only-begotten Jesus Christ in holy Spirit,' after which follows the formula 'as it was and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.' This formula has no close connexion with what precedes and Brightman regards it as a response made by the people[2]. It was evidently the conventional conclusion and corresponds to forms found in the Egyptian rites (St Mark, Copt., Abyss.).

A rubric follows: 'after the prayer comes the Fraction and in the Fraction a prayer.' Brightman understands the words 'after the prayer' to contain a reference to the Lord's Prayer, which would thus precede the Fraction. But this is not by any means conclusive, nor may any great reliance be placed on the words 'pray ye' in the Ethiopic Church Order, as evidence of the use of the Lord's Prayer at this point of the service[3].

The prayer of the Fraction is an Egyptian feature, and as given in Sarapion is preparatory to communion[4]. There is no allusion to the *Sancta sanctis*, which is found however in the Ethiopic Church Order; nor are the words of administration given. The order of

[1] See *J. Th. St.* xiv. 36 f.

[2] Cf. the Ethiopic Church Order, p. 59.

[3] See p. 59 and Brightman, *J. Th. St.* i. 113.

[4] The corresponding prayer in the Coptic rite (*LEW.* 181. 15 f.) serves as an introduction to the Lord's Prayer.

the concluding prayers in Sarapion is (*a*) a prayer of benediction (χειροθεσία) of the people before communion; (*b*) a prayer after the distribution to the people (a thanksgiving for communion); (*c*) a final benediction (χειροθεσία). This order corresponds to later Egyptian and Syrian usage.

Before the concluding benediction a form is provided in Sarapion for the blessing of water and oil. It is entitled 'prayer concerning the oils and waters that are offered,' and it contains a petition that healing power may be bestowed upon them[1]. The position of the prayer differs from that of the similar prayer found in the Ethiopic Church Order, and the Canons of Hippolytus, where, as we have seen, it comes at the close of the Anaphora. There is a similar prayer in the Apostolic Constitutions[2] though its position in relation to the liturgy is not indicated, and the same statement applies to the corresponding prayer in the Testament of our Lord[3], where, however, it is referred to immediately after the account of the liturgy.

The recent discovery in Upper Egypt of three papyrus liturgical fragments has supplied a fresh source of evidence for the history of the Egyptian liturgy[4]. The date of these fragments is, according

[1] The water is to be drunk; the oil is for anointing (ὅπως . . πᾶσα νόσος διὰ τῆς πόσεως καὶ τῆς ἀλείψεως ἀπαλλαγῇ).

[2] viii. 29. [3] i. 24, 25.

[4] For a description of the fragments see Dom Puniet in *Revue bénédictine*, xxvi. (1909), p. 34; E. von der Goltz in *Zeitschr. für Kgesch.* (1909), pp. 352 f.; Cabrol, *DACL.* art. 'Canon.' They have been edited by T. Schermann, *Der liturgische Papyrus von*

to Mr W. E. Crum, the seventh or eighth century. Dr Schermann, as the result of a careful study of them, has restored their order as follows[1]:

(1) Common prayer of the Church (prayer of the faithful). Fol. 1^{r-v}.

(2) Eucharistic thanksgiving, with Sanctus, Invocation, Institution, and Anamnesis. Fol. 1^{v}—2^{v}.

(3) Prayer for the fruits of communion. Fol. 3^{r}.

(4) Short creed. Fol. 3^{v}.

This order is confirmed by that of the baptismal Eucharist in the Verona fragments, where there is also a short creed in connexion with the administration of the chalice and milk to the newly-baptized[2].

From this it would appear that the liturgy contained in the papyrus followed on baptism.

The contents of (1) are very fragmentary and cannot be restored with any certainty. The prayer contained in (3) runs as follows:

> ...of thy gift unto the power of the Holy Ghost, unto confirmation and increase of faith, unto the hope of eternal life to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee the Father be glory with the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen.

This prayer recalls the concluding words of the Invocation found in the Ethiopic Church Order[3] and in Sarapion. The doxology forms the conclusion of the Anaphora. The Creed contained in (4) exhibits parallels with the baptismal creed of the Ethiopic

Dêr-Balyzeh in *Texte und Untersuch.* xxxvi. 1 *b* (Leipzig, 1910). See also his later work *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien des ersten Jahrtausends* (1912).

[1] *op. cit.* pp. 3 f. [2] Hauler, p. 113. [3] See pp. 57 f., 70.

Church Order[1] (except that the latter has '*one* God' and 'resurrection of the *body*'). It also agrees closely with early Roman creed forms. Thus it has '*I* believe' in place of the Eastern '*we* believe'; it omits 'one' before 'God,' and it has the clause 'resurrection of flesh.' It concludes with 'holy catholic church.'

But the main interest of the new discovery centres in (2) in which we find the central portion of the Anaphora. It begins with a part of the Preface leading up to the *Sanctus*. Then follows a short introduction to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, which is in turn followed by the recital of the institution and a short Anamnesis. The relationship of the forms contained in the fragment to the corresponding portions of the liturgy of Sarapion on the one hand, and the liturgy of St Mark on the other, may be illustrated by the following table, in which the parallel passages of St Mark are given, while the portions of the fragment found in Sarapion are marked in italics. The reconstruction of Dom Puniet has been followed.

Oxford Papyrus.	*St Mark.*
[Around thee stand the seraphim[2]], the one [has six wings], a[nd the other has si]x [wings]. And *with twain* they *covered* their *face*, and	Behind thee stand the two most honourable living creatures, the many-eyed cherubim, and the six-winged seraphim, which with two

[1] Horner, p. 173.

[2] The reconstruction here is conjectural, as in other passages which are bracketed.

Oxford Papyrus.

with twain their feet, and *with twain* they did *fly*. All things always hallow thee, but *along with* all who hallow thee, *receive also our hallowing, as we say* to thee, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts. Full is the heaven and the earth of thy glory. Fill also* us with the glory that is with thee, and vouchsafe to send thy Holy Spirit upon these creatures and [make] the bread the body of our [Lord and] Saviour Jesus Christ, and the cup the blood of the new [covenant. For our Lord Jesus Christ in the *nig*]*ht* [in which he was being betrayed took bread and gave than]ks, a[nd when he had blessed it, he brake it and gave it] *to his di*[*sciples* and apost]les, saying, *T*[*ake*, eat all o]f it. *This* [is my] *body*, *which* is *being* given for you *unto remission of sins.* Lik[ewise *aft*]*er supper* he *took the cup*, a[nd] when he had blessed it and had drunk, he gave

St Mark.

wings covering their faces and with two their feet, and with two flying...All things always hallow thee, but along with all who hallow thee, receive also our hallowing... as we sing with them and say Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts. Full is the heaven and the earth of thy holy glory...Fill, O God, also this sacrifice with the blessing which is from thee[1]....that he may make the bread the body, and the cup the blood of the new covenant of our very Lord and God and Saviour...For our Lord... Jesus Christ...distributed it to his holy and blessed disciples and apostles saying, Take, eat.

This is my body, which is being broken[2] for you and distributed, unto remission of sins. Likewise also after he had supped, taking the cup...when he had given thanks and blessed it... Drink[3] all of it.

This is my blood of the

[1] Sarapion has similarly 'Fill also this sacrifice with thy power and thy participation.'

[2] So Sarapion.

[3] But the Coptic has 'take, drink.'

Oxford Papyrus.	*St Mark.*
it to them saying, *Take, drink* all of it. This is *my blood which is being shed for you unto remission of sins.* As [often] as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye proclaim my death, ye confess my resurrection[2]. We p[roclaim] thy death, we [confess] thy resurrection, and intreat...	new covenant[1] which is being shed for you and for many... unto remission of sins...For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim my death and ye confess my resurrection [and ascension] until I come. Proclaiming the death...of thy only-begotten Son, and confessing his...resurrection and ascension[3] into heaven...

The parallels exhibited above shew that the Oxford papyrus presents considerable correspondence with Sarapion on the one hand and St Mark on the other. It approaches more nearly to St Mark in several respects. (1) It contains the words of the Preface 'all things hallow thee, but along with all who hallow thee,' which are absent from Sarapion. (2) It has in the Invocation the words 'the cup, the blood *of the new covenant*,' as in St Mark. (3) It agrees more closely with St Mark than does Sarapion in its recital of the Institution[4]. (4) It has the

[1] Sarapion has 'This is the new covenant, which is my blood.'

[2] Reading *ἀνάστασιν* for *ἀνάμνησιν*, which is certainly corrupt.

[3] The ascension is also mentioned by Cyril of Alexandria in his Third Letter to Nestorius. See p. 55.

[4] Note, *e.g.* 'disciples *and apostles*'; the form of the words spoken over the cup; lastly, the words 'as often as ye eat...ye proclaim my death, ye confess my resurrection.' (For the introduction of 1 Cor. xi. 26 as part of the Institution at the Last Supper cf. *A. C., Testament of our Lord*, and the Western *de Sacramentis*.) Against these parallels we can only set 'body which is being

opening words of the Anamnesis of St Mark. In view of these facts, and especially in view of the more developed form of the Anamnesis, it seems probable that the fragment is later than Sarapion. Against this conclusion we have to set (1) the more subjective character of the prayer, 'Fill also *us* with the glory which is from thee,' which replaces the form 'fill *this sacrifice* with thy power' (Sar.) or 'with the blessing which is from thee' (Mark). This is regarded by Dom Puniet as an indication of early date. But the Oxford fragment is lacking in many of the early features of Sarapion, *e.g.* the description of the bread and the cup as 'a likeness of the body,' and 'a likeness of the blood'; the Invocation of the Logos in place of the Holy Spirit; lastly the prayer from the Didache which is interposed between the two parts of the Institution. Nor again is the comparison of the fragment with the Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Order favourable to an earlier date. It has none of the early features which the latter exhibits, *e.g.* the absence of the *Sanctus*, and the simple form of Invocation in place of the prayer that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ. Its language in fact points to a stage of developement in which liturgical forms are becoming fixed, and more developed conceptions as to the agent and effects of consecration are being entertained[1].

broken' (Sar., Mark) for '*given*' of the Oxford fragment. Note 'when he had blessed it *and had drunk*.' Cf. *LEW.* 177. 21.

[1] These facts render very improbable the early date claimed for the anaphora of this fragment by Von der Goltz (*l. c.*) who places it before the fourth century documents, or of Schermann (*op. cit.*

The comparison of the fragment with Sarapion and St Mark shews that it exhibits the characteristic Egyptian features. The form of the *Sanctus*, with the characteristic Egyptian cue by which the prayer is resumed after the *Sanctus*[1], the similarity of the language of the Institution to that in St Mark's liturgy, lastly the form of the Anamnesis, all point to its Egyptian origin. One feature which has given rise to much discussion is the position of the Invocation (which in the later manner is a request for the descent of the Holy Spirit to make the elements the Body and Blood of Christ) *before*, instead of *after*, the recital of the Institution. But the fragmentary character of the document renders caution necessary in drawing any conclusions from this fact, especially as we are ignorant whether it contained any further invocation in the normal place. The Invocation exhibited in the text of the fragment may be nothing more than a further elaboration of the preliminary invocation found in St Mark[2] 'Fill this sacrifice with the blessing which is from thee through the coming upon it of thy all-holy Spirit.'

The above description of the liturgy current in Egypt, so far as it may be gathered from the quotations of Egyptian Church writers and from liturgical forms during our period, shews that certain features were more or less developed. Among these we may notice:

(1) The Anaphora corresponded to the later

p. 39), who assigns it to the third century or the end of the second century.

[1] p. 66. [2] *LEW.* 132. 13 f.

Egyptian forms in its general framework. The *Sanctus* is simple in form and corresponds with that of the liturgy of St Mark, omitting the additions found in the Syrian, Roman, and Byzantine forms. The Preface exhibited in Sarapion corresponds to the later Egyptian plan and phraseology, taking its cue from the word 'full' (πλήρης) in the *Sanctus*, while the corresponding Syrian form takes up the cue from the word 'holy' (ἅγιος). The Anamnesis, as referred to by Cyril of Alexandria, also accords with that of the later Egyptian rite and differs from the Syrian and Roman forms. Thus the central portion of the Anaphora was acquiring during this period the character of a more or less stereotyped prayer.

(2) In Sarapion there are two forms of Invocation. The one ('fill this sacrifice') precedes the recital of the Institution and is undeveloped in character. The second follows the Institution, and is the Invocation proper, *i.e.* a prayer that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ. This feature is also found in the liturgy of St Mark. Attention has already been called to the fact that in Sarapion it is the Logos and not the Third Person of the Trinity whose operation is invoked. This feature, as we have seen, is characteristic of Alexandria and finds a parallel in the language of Clement, Origen, and Athanasius.

(3) Sarapion is the earliest witness who clearly attests the recital of the names of the dead, though, as we have seen, the practice was probably an importation into the liturgy of his time, and that liturgy bears witness to an earlier condition of things, in which

the prayers following the Invocation centred in the thought of the coming communion, while the prayers of a strictly intercessory character preceded the Anaphora. In this respect Sarapion, while preserving much that is old, witnesses to the new influences which were affecting the worship of the Church in Eastern Greek Christendom.

(4) The concluding prayers of the liturgy conform in their general order to the scheme exhibited in the Apostolic Constitutions and later Syrian and Egyptian forms.

(5) In the pre-anaphoral portion there is less indication of a fixed scheme. Sarapion exhibits a simple and undeveloped form of the dismissals, which contrasts with the elaborate Syrian scheme found in Chrysostom and the Apostolic Constitutions, while in the prayers of the faithful there is only a general correspondence in subject-matter with later Egyptian prayers.

(6) Lastly, we may notice the absence from all Egyptian sources during this period of any explicit mention of the Lord's Prayer. This may be accidental, but the possibility must be reckoned with that it had not attained, in Egypt at any rate, during this period a fixed place in the liturgy[1].

Hitherto we have been dealing in this summary with the liturgy belonging to the region of Alexandria (including the Nile delta). As we have already indicated, there is no trace of the influence of the Ethiopic Church Order on the liturgy of this region.

[1] See further ch. viii.

It is in the Abyssinian rite that the influence of this Church Order appears. From it is derived the anaphora of the normal Abyssinian rite, which has been further enlarged and enriched with elements taken from the Greek Eastern rite[1]. We have however noticed the appearance in the Ethiopic Church Order of certain archaic features which are full of significance and value for the student of early liturgy. They are (1) the absence of the *Sanctus*, (2) the early form of Invocation, and the absence from it of any distinct prayer that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ, (3) the absence of intercessions at the close of the Anaphora. Lastly, we may notice that in this Church Order the opening salutation before the Preface is in the form 'the Lord be with you,' as in the Roman and Egyptian rites, whereas the Syrian form (found in the Apostolic Constitutions), as well as the Byzantine form, is derived from the words of 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

[1] See E. Bishop in *J. Th. St.* xii. 398 f.

CHAPTER IV

THE LITURGY IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA

Our earliest sources of information about the liturgy in Palestine date from the fourth century. For the Church of Jerusalem we possess the very full and detailed description of a great portion of the rite in the *Catecheses* of Cyril, a presbyter, and subsequently bishop, of the Church of Jerusalem. These *Catecheses* were delivered in 348 A.D., nos. i—xviii being preparatory to baptism, while the remainder (xix—xxiii) were given to the newly-baptized in Easter week. The latter, known as the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, contain instructions on Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*[1], the work of an abbess, whose home was in Gaul or Spain, contains much information on the rites of the Church in Jerusalem, though it does not supply us with details of the celebration of the liturgy. The work has until recent years been assigned to the end of

[1] Discovered and edited by J. F. Gamurrini (Rome, 1887). The text is printed by Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (E. tr.) pp. 492 f., which is here cited for convenience. Recent discussions have shewn that the writer's name was Etheria not Silvia.

the fourth century, but in later discussions a date as late as the sixth century has been suggested for it[1]. A few additional features are indicated by the Church historian, Eusebius (c. † 339 A.D.), and by Jerome, who resided at Bethlehem between the years 386 and 420 A.D.

From Cyril we learn that the term 'Synaxis' (*σύναξις*)[2] was applied to the Christian assembly on the Lord's Day, while Etheria employs the term 'oblation[3]' to denote the Eucharist, and also uses the word *missa* both in reference to the 'dismissal' at the close of the vigil and other services, and also in the sense in which it is found in Ambrose to denote the liturgy proper or the 'Mass[4].'

Elsewhere Cyril speaks of the reading of the lessons[5], of 'hearing the Gospel[6]' (though not specially in connexion with the Eucharist), and of the sermon[7]. Jerome states that at Jerusalem in his time there were discourses by several presbyters, concluding with one by the bishop, and Etheria witnesses to the same practice[8]. Jerome[9] mentions the use of lights 'as a sign of joy' at the reading of the Gospel, and

[1] See K. Meister, *De itinerario Aetheriae abbatissae perperam nomine Silviae addicto* in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (1909) pp. 337 f.; Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana* XXIX. (1910) pp. 377 f.

[2] *Cat.* x. 14.

[3] *oblatio, offerre* are both employed of the Eucharist.

[4] On *missa* see Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen*, III. 134 f.

[5] *Procat.* 4, *Cat.* iv. 1. [6] *Cat.* vi. 29.

[7] *Procat.* 4, 11.

[8] On the evidence of Jerome see Dom G. Morin, '*La prédication de S. Jérôme*' in *Revue d'histoire et de litt. religieuse*, I. (1896) pp. 393 f. For Etheria see Duchesne, pp. 495, 501.

[9] *c. Vigilant.* 7.

says that it was universal in the churches of the East. There is no distinct mention of the prayers for the catechumens, or of the prayers of the faithful, but Etheria[1] speaks of prayers and benedictions of both catechumens and the faithful at the daily offices, in a way which recalls the liturgical practice exhibited in the Apostolic Constitutions and the writings of Chrysostom.

In the account of Etheria there is no description of the liturgy itself, but we have an interesting account of the general character of the Sunday services, as well as of the day offices. She carefully distinguishes between the *missa* of the catechumens and that of the faithful, from which latter catechumens were excluded[2]. At cock-crow on the Sunday the night office was said in the Church of the Anastasis, and was attended by the bishop and clergy. At daybreak there was a gathering at the greater Basilica, built by Constantine, at Golgotha. At this gathering there were sermons by the presbyters and bishop, followed by the Dismissal (as in the daily offices). After this the bishop was accompanied to the Church of the Anastasis, where the faithful alone enter, and the *missa fidelium* follows[3]. The distinction of the

[1] Duchesne, p. 492. [2] *Ibid.* p. 496.

[3] Such appears to be the meaning of the passage, for the text of which see Duchesne (*op. cit.*, pp. 494f.). Etheria does not expressly refer to 'the oblation,' the term by which she usually denotes the liturgy, though it seems to be implied in the reference to the exclusion of catechumens, and the parallel descriptions of the services on festivals. For the celebration of the liturgy proper in a different church there is a parallel in North Africa in the time of Augustine. See ch. vi.

missa fidelium from the *missa catechumenorum* is also implied in the language which Eusebius attributes to Constantine, at the time of the Emperor's request for baptism. The Emperor, he says[1], looked forward to associating with the people of God, and uniting with them in prayer as a member of His Church. It is further implied in the statement of Cyril 'we do not speak clearly of the things concerning the mysteries in the presence of catechumens[2].'

In his account[3] Cyril describes only the *missa fidelium*, as this alone was unfamiliar to the newly-baptized. At the beginning of the service the deacon brings water for the washing of hands to the bishop (τῷ ἱερεῖ)[4] and the presbyters who surround the altar. In this connexion he refers to Ps. xxvi. 6 ('I will wash my hands in innocency'). Then follows the kiss of peace, preceded by the deacon's proclamation 'let us greet one another.' The people's offering is not mentioned, but Cyril passes on to describe the Preface, which the celebrant begins with the introductory words 'Lift up your hearts,' to which the response is made 'we lift them up unto the Lord.' Again he says 'let us give thanks to the Lord' and there is the further response 'It is meet and right.' In the Preface mention is made of the creation 'visible and invisible,' concluding with a reference to Isaiah vi. 3 and followed by the *Sanctus*. From the *Sanctus*

[1] *Vita Const.* iv. 62. [2] *Cat.* vi. 29.

[3] See *Cat.* xxiii.

[4] On this restriction of the word ἱερεύς to the bishop in early times see Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, i. 145.

Cyril passes on to the Invocation without mentioning the further contents of the thanksgiving or the recital of the Institution. But he had already expounded the latter in the preceding *Catechesis* (xxii)[1], and his language shews that the operation of the Holy Spirit is for him the ground of the consecration of the elements. Of the invocation Cyril says:

> Then when we have sanctified ourselves with these spiritual hymns, we beseech the loving God to send forth his Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before us, that he may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ. For whatsoever the Holy Spirit touches is sanctified and changed[2].

We may notice here that the Invocation is an explicit prayer for the operation of the Holy Spirit to effect the change of the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ. Cyril uses in this connexion the word 'make' (*ποιεῖν*), which is more definite and explicit than the term 'shew,' found in the Apostolic Constitutions (*ἀποφαίνειν*) and the Liturgy of St Basil (*ἀναδεικνύναι*), or even than the word 'become' (*γίγνεσθαι*) found in Sarapion[3]. As will be shewn later, this corresponds to the more advanced teaching

[1] Brightman notes the following parallels with St James. (1) *τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα*. For this order cf. *LEW*. 52. 2. 13. (2) *λάβετε πίετε*. Cf. Syr. James (*LEW*. 87. 14); Eusebius, *Dem. Ev*. viii. 1 (p. 380 c). The phrase *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀχράντων χειρῶν* of St James (*LEW*. 51. 27) is not in Cyril's account of the institution, but is found in reference to the piercing of the hands with the nails in *Cat*. xx. 5.

[2] *Cat*. xxiii. 7. Note the parallels with St James, *ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ποιήσῃ*.

[3] See pp. 68, 105, 119.

exhibited in Cyril with regard to the effects of consecration—teaching to which there is no parallel in any contemporary writer.

After the Invocation follow the Intercessions. 'When the spiritual sacrifice, the unbloody service, has been consummated, over that sacrifice of propitiation we beseech God.' Supplication is made for the peace of the churches, the well-being of the world, kings, soldiers and allies, the sick, the afflicted, and the needy. Then follows the commemoration of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, 'that by their prayers and intercessions God would accept our petition[1].' Finally prayer is made for the departed, including holy fathers, bishops, and 'all who have fallen asleep amongst us.' Cyril justifies such prayers on the ground that 'it will be a great benefit to those souls, for whom prayer is offered, while the holy and awful sacrifice lies before us.' These passages contain the earliest references to the practice of offering intercessions after the Invocation, and they exhibit at the same time an advanced conception alike of the Eucharistic Presence and Sacrifice. Both Cyril and Epiphanius deal with objections which had been made to the commemoration of the dead, and from the form which these objections took it has been argued that such commemoration took the shape of a recital of the names of particular departed persons[2].

[1] *Cat.* xxiii. 9. There is nothing corresponding to these last words in St James or St Mark, but the idea is found in the Byzantine liturgy (*LEW.* 388. 18f.).

[2] See Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxv. 3, 8 (*P.G.* xlii. 508 A, 513 B) ὀνομάζετε...ὀνόματα τεθνεώτων, περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματα λέγειν τῶν

The general contents of the intercession accord with the language of St James and with references found in Eusebius and Epiphanius[1]. Jerome[2] quotes the words ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος, which occur in the intercession of St James, and says that they were uttered daily by priests.

After the Intercessions there followed the Lord's Prayer, which Cyril expounds at length[3]. At the conclusion the people respond Amen[4]. Then follows the proclamation 'Holy things for the holy,' and the response 'There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ,' both of which occur in the Apostolic Constitutions and in St James. During the Communion Psalm xxxiv. 9 ('Taste and see,' etc.) is sung[5]. The communicants receive in the right hand, the left supporting it, with hollowed palm, care being taken not to drop any morsel. On receiving the cup they are bidden to touch the eyes, forehead, and the other organs of sense with the consecrated wine, while it is still moist upon the lips. On reception they respond,

τελευτησάντων; cf. Cyril, *Cat.* xxiii. 10 ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς μνημονεύηται. See on the whole question E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xiv. 94.

[1] Euseb., *Vita Const.* iv. 45; Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxv. 7.

[2] *c. Pelag.* ii. 23. Cf. for the phrase, Cyril, *Cat.* ii. 10 εἷς μόνος ἀναμάρτητος.

[3] Cyril introduces the Lord's Prayer with the words 'with a pure conscience we claim God as our Father and say.' Cf. St James, ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ...τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε...πατέρα καὶ λέγειν. Other parallels between Cyril and St James are (1) τοῦ πονηροῦ used in a personal sense. (2) The addition of 'Lord,' after 'Lead us not into temptation.'

[4] *Cat.* xxiii. 18.

[5] For this Psalm as a communion hymn cf. *A. C.*

Amen: then while waiting for the prayer, they are to give thanks to God, who has counted them worthy of such great mysteries[1].

The *Didascalia*, which belongs to some time in the third century (whether the earlier or the later half of the century is a point in dispute among scholars)[2], may be adduced as possibly affording evidence of the liturgical practices of Syria, though the exact locality of its origin is doubtful. Its references to the Eucharist are slight and incidental. In addition to the regular synaxes, or gatherings for worship in the churches, it refers to the gatherings held in the cemeteries at the graves of the departed. At these scriptures were read, prayers were offered, and the Eucharist was celebrated. The writer speaks of 'offering for those that are asleep,' and also mentions celebrations of the Eucharist in connexion with their decease[3]. There are two interesting features in connexion with the writer's description of the Eucharist which call for notice. (1) He speaks of offering the 'acceptable Eucharist which is *according to the likeness of the royal body of Christ*[4],' a form of expression to which we shall find parallels elsewhere[5]. (2) He has been thought to point to the existence of an invocation of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy. Thus, referring to the case of one who might be regarded as unfit for certain religious acts, and so

[1] Cf. *A. C.* and St James (*L E W.* 25. 20; 65. 28ff.).
[2] See Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 170.
[3] *Didasc.* vi. 22. 2 (Funk); cf. Achelis and Flemming, p. 143.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] See ch. ix.

not in a state of grace, he says that 'prayer is accepted through the Holy Spirit and the Eucharist is received and sanctified through the Holy Spirit, and the Scriptures are the words of the Holy Spirit and are holy[1].' Elsewhere, according to the old Latin rendering, he says 'which is greater, the bread or the Holy Spirit which sanctifies the bread?' This however is replaced in Achelis' translation from the Syriac by the words 'which is greater, the bread or the Spirit which thou possessest[2]?' Lastly, in the passage already quoted about the Eucharist he speaks of the 'pure bread which is sanctified by the invocation.' This passage suggests the existence of an invocation *of some sort* in the Liturgy, but the other passages are not decisive as to the existence of an invocation of the Holy Spirit, or a prayer asking for His descent. In the first of the passages quoted, all that is implied is a general operation of the Holy Spirit in all religious acts, while in the second the rendering given in the Syriac removes all reference to such an invocation of the Holy Spirit as is suggested by the form of the Latin[3].

The writings of St Chrysostom, which belong to the time of his residence at Antioch, fall within the period 370—398 A.D. They throw incidentally a great flood of light upon the ceremonies and forms

[1] So Achelis renders the passage from the Syriac (p. 139). But the Latin rendering (Funk, p. 370) has 'gratiarum actio per sanctum spiritum sanctificatur.'

[2] vi. 21. 2 (Funk). For the rendering of the Syriac see Achelis and Flemming, p. 140.

[3] Cf. E. Bishop in *Guardian*, Dec. 22, 1909, p. 2069.

with which the liturgy was celebrated at Antioch in the last quarter of the fourth century, and they witness to the growing splendour of the churches, and the increased awe and reverence with which the sacrament itself was regarded. They also point to the growing fixity of liturgical formulae, and with their help, and that of the Apostolic Constitutions, we can supplement the account which is given by Cyril of Jerusalem, and arrive at a fairly adequate conception of the stage of liturgical developement which had been reached in Syria and Palestine before the close of the fourth century.

Incidentally Chrysostom throws light upon many of the accessories of the Eucharistic worship of the church at Antioch. Like Cyril he uses the word Synaxis (σύναξις)[1] of the formal assembly of the faithful for worship. He mentions the sanctuary (βῆμα), the bishop's throne, and the 'altar' or 'holy table,' which was sometimes made of silver, and curtains which were drawn back before the communion[2]. He also alludes to the barriers which separated the men from the women. From the ruined churches of Syria, ranging in date from the fourth to the sixth centuries, it appears that there was no *iconostasis*, but only a balustrade, before the sanctuary[3]. Chrysostom makes mention also of the costly vessels of gold, set with jewels, and of the albs of the ministers.

[1] For the references to what follows see *LEW.* 475 f.
[2] See *in* 1 *Cor.* xxxvi. 6.
[3] See Cabrol, *DACL.* I. ii. 2428, n. 7.

The preliminary *missa catechumenorum* began with the salutation 'Peace be with you,' followed by the response 'and with thy spirit[1].' Lessons were read from the prophets, the Epistles (or Acts), and the Gospel[2]. There is no certain evidence of the use of psalms between the lessons[3]. The sermon was prefaced by the salutation[4], and was followed by the dismissal of the various classes of persons who were not allowed to be present at the Eucharist. On this portion of the service Chrysostom gives very full information and enables us to reconstruct not only the general order, but much of the actual wording of the forms employed[5]. These latter find a close parallel in the corresponding portions of the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, according to which the dismissals consisted of a bidding by the deacon for each class in turn (catechumens, energumens, penitents), the people responding 'Lord, have mercy[6].' At the conclusion the proclamation is made 'Bow your heads[7],' and then follows the salutation and the blessing[8], after which the dismissal takes place[9].

[1] *in Matt.* xxxii. 6.

[2] *in Rom.* xxiv. 3; *cur in Pentec.* 5; *in Ioann.* xi (al. x) 1.

[3] On this see Brightman, *LEW.* 477, n. 4.

[4] *adv. Iud.* iii. 6; *in* 1 *Cor.* xxxvi. 4. For several sermons see *in* 1 *Cor.* xxxvi. 4 and cf. p. 82.

[5] The two most important passages are *in* 2 *Cor.* ii. 5—8 and xviii. 3, the latter of which also throws light on other points in the liturgy. See *LEW.* 476.

[6] This is implied, though not actually expressed, in Chrys., *in Matt.* lxxi (al. lxxii) 4; *de incompr. Dei nat.* iv. 4; *in* 2 *Cor.* xviii. 3.

[7] *in* 2 *Cor.* ii. 8; *de incompr. Dei nat.* iii. 7.

[8] *adv. Iud.* iii. 6.

[9] For the formula of dismissal see *in Eph.* iii. 4. The whole

The same form was repeated for each class in turn, except that the catechumens, after prayers have been offered for them, are bidden to rise, and follow the deacon in a series of petitions, whereas there is in Chrysostom's account nothing which points to a similar procedure in the case of the energumens or penitents, and he expressly says that the energumens are not allowed to pray along with the brethren[1].

When all had been dismissed, the doors were shut[2], and the liturgy proper began. First of all came the deacon's litany, introduced by the formula 'let us pray[3],' and including petitions for the world, the Church, the bishops and clergy, kings and rulers (possibly also for the sick, for those in the mines and in hard bondage and for those possessed by evil spirits[4]), lastly for land and sea and for the weather[5], concluding with a request for 'the angel of peace' and that all their purposes may be directed to a peaceable end[6]. These petitions were probably followed, as in the case of the prayers in the *missa*

account should be compared with the similar ceremonies at the daily offices in Jerusalem as described in the *Peregrinatio* of Etheria. See Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

[1] *in* 2 *Cor.* ii. 8; *de incompr. Dei nat.* iii. 7.

[2] *in Matt.* xxiii. 3. [3] *de Prophet. obscurit.* ii. 5.

[4] *de incompr. Dei nat.* iii. 6, but there is no particular reference to this part of the service.

[5] For these petitions see *de Prophet. obscurit.* ii. 5; *in* 2 *Cor.* ii. 8.

[6] *adv. Iud.* iii. 6; *in Ascens.* 1. These petitions exhibit close parallels of language with those in *A. C.* Note *e.g.* ὀρθοτομεῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας (Chrys., *A. C.*), τῶν ἐν μετάλλοις (Chrys., *A. C.*), ἐν πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ (*A. C.*), ἐν σκληραῖς δουλείαις (Chrys.). The request for the angel of peace, which is mentioned by Chrysostom in connexion with both the prayers of the catechumens

catechumenorum, by the salutation and the blessing of the faithful[1].

There is apparently no clear reference in Chrysostom's writings to the practice of the offering of the bread and the wine by the congregation[2], and he does not state at what point in the service the presentation of the offering took place, beyond the fact that it was preceded by the kiss of Peace[3].

Passing to the Anaphora, we find in Chrysostom a reference to the salutation which preceded the Preface, and which appears to have been derived from 2 Cor. xiii. 14. It was followed by the response 'and with thy spirit[4].' The *Sursum corda* with the response is found in a homily attributed to Chrysostom (though of doubtful authenticity)[5]. The preface to the thanksgiving, with the response 'it is meet and right,' and the angelic hymn (the Sanctus) are also referred to[6]. Of the thanksgiving Chrysostom says[7], 'We rehearse over the cup the ineffable blessings of

and the diaconal litany in the *missa fidelium*, is found in the diaconal litanies of St James and the Byzantine rite. On the significance of the prayer see Bingham, *Antiquities*, Bk xiv. 5. 4.

[1] See *adv. Iud.* iii. 6, and cf. *A. C.* and St James (*LEW.* 12. 9 f.; 40. 17 f.).

[2] The passage *in Ioann.* lxii (al. lxi) 5 (*LEW.* p. 479. n. 16) is not decisive.

[3] *de Compunct. ad Demetr.* i. 3.

[4] *de s. Pentecoste*, i. 4. Note the words ἐπεύξηται τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν.

[5] *de Paenitentia*, ix. 1. [6] *in 2 Cor.* xviii. 3; *de Bapt. Chr.* 4.

[7] *in* 1 *Cor.* xxiv. 1. The passage in *ad eos qui scandalizantur* (7 sq.) may be a paraphrase of the Eucharistic thanksgiving, as it presents many parallels of language with *A. C.* and St James. But the work was written later, during Chrysostom's exile.

God and whatever benefits we enjoy; and so we offer it at the holy table and communicate, giving him thanks that he hath delivered mankind from error; that when we were afar off he hath made us near; that when we had no hope and were without God he hath made us brethren and fellow-heirs with himself. For these and all the like blessings we give him thanks and so draw nigh.'

Chrysostom refers to the recital by the priest of the words of institution and says 'this utterance (*i.e.* 'This is my body'), once spoken, at every table in the churches from that day until this and until his coming perfects the sacrifice[1].' The invocation of the Holy Spirit 'to come and touch' the gifts upon the altar is alluded to[2], as also are the intercessions for living and dead. Like Cyril, Chrysostom dwells upon the efficacy of prayer for the departed at the moment when 'the common Sacrifice of the world is before us.' 'Therefore with boldness do we then intreat for the whole world, and name their names with those of martyrs, confessors, priests[3].' The whole prayer concluded with the words 'unto the ages of ages' (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων), and at its close the people responded, Amen[4]. The use of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy is referred to in a way which suggests that Chrysostom had in mind the words with which it was introduced. Speaking of the duty of forgiveness he says 'If we do this, we

[1] *de Prod. Iud.* i. 6. See ch. ix.
[2] *in coem. appellat.* 3; *de Sacerd.* iii. 4.
[3] *in* 1 *Cor.* xli. 4 f.
[4] *in* 1 *Cor.* xxxv. 3.

may then *with a pure conscience* come to this holy and tremendous table and *boldly say* the words that are contained in that prayer[1].' A comparison with the liturgy of St James suggests that the words in italics were already part of a liturgical formula[2]. The fraction followed[3], and in connexion with it Brightman suggests that there may have been a litany, as in the Apostolic Constitutions. In the passage to which he appeals Chrysostom says, 'when the sacrifice is brought forth, and Christ, the Lord's sheep, is sacrificed; when thou hearest the words "Let us all pray together," when thou beholdest the curtains withdrawn, then think that the heaven is parted and the angels are descending[4].' But Chrysostom is plainly not giving the exact order, and it is possible that his words refer to the intercession at the close of the Anaphora. There may be an allusion to the *Sancta sanctis* when Chrysostom speaks of Christ as 'giving holy things to holy men,' but he is not speaking specially of the liturgy[5]. Elsewhere we learn that Psalm cxlv was sung alternately by priest and people at the Lord's Table, chiefly because of the words 'The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season[6].' But whether this was during, or after, communion we are not told. The liturgy concluded with a final thanksgiving[7] and the dismissal by the deacon, 'Go in peace[8].'

1 *in Genes.* xxvii. 8.
2 See parallels in Cyril and St James quoted p. 87 n. 3.
3 *in* 1 *Cor.* xxiv. 2.
4 *in Eph.* iii. 5. 5 *in Matt.* vii. 6. 6 *in Ps.* cxliv. 1.
7 *de Bapt. Chr.* 4. 8 *adv. Iud.* iii. 6; cf. *A. C.* and St James.

One other source of information for the Syrian liturgy is supplied by the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions. The date of this work has been a subject of much discussion, but there is now a fairly general agreement that the whole work was compiled, and the Church Order in Book viii written, by a single writer, who appears to be identical with the author of the Longer Recension of the Ignatian Epistles in the latter part of the fourth century[1]. The locality of the author appears to have been Syria. From the absence of the mention of metropolitans in the Church Order it has been conjectured that he did not live at Antioch or in its immediate neighbourhood[2]. But the liturgy contained in Book viii follows the general lines of the Syrian rite, especially as found at Antioch in the time of Chrysostom. A comparison of the litany in the *missa catechumenorum* of the Apostolic Constitutions with the similar petitions quoted by Chrysostom shews that the writer of *A. C.* has made use of current Antiochene forms, many of the phrases being identical. Similarly a comparison of Chrysostom's quotations from the deacon's litany in the *missa fidelium* with the corresponding litany in *A. C.* on the one hand, and the intercessions of the Anaphora of *A. C.* on the other, suggest that here again the writer has made use of the existing Antiochene forms. Further, the thanksgiving in *A. C.*, when compared with the quotations

[1] See Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, pp. 149 ff. Recent opinion favours the date 375—380 A.D.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 150.

of Chrysostom, and the corresponding parts of the liturgies of St James and St Basil, exhibits certain parallels of language and ideas, which suggest that the writer has drawn upon the Syrian thanksgiving existing in his time. Lastly there is a close parallel between the Invocation in *A. C.* and that found in the Ethiopic Church Order[1]. But though the writer has thus drawn upon existing sources, a careful study of his work shews that he has freely paraphrased and expanded them, and that the prayers contained in the liturgy of *A. C.* are *in their present form* the writer's own composition. This is shewn by the fact that many of the prayers exhibit traces of the writer's peculiar style as found elsewhere in his work, nor does he appear to regard liturgical formulae as rigidly fixed, but treats freely such well-known forms as the Creed and the *Gloria in excelsis*[2]. Thus the chief value of this liturgy is that, though in its actual form it is a free composition, it serves at many points as an additional confirmation of the evidence derived from other Syrian writers of the fourth century, and in some respects supplements that evidence.

The study of the literary relations of the liturgy in *A. C.* to the whole work of which it forms a part, and to the spurious Ignatian Epistles, as well as to the quotations of Chrysostom, enables us to place it in its proper setting. From this point of view its importance is shewn to be neither more nor less than can be claimed for the sources which it has embodied.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 51.
[2] See *LEW.* xxxiii. ff.

Its history in fact is bound up with the history of those sources.

A larger claim has indeed been made for the liturgy of *A. C.* by some writers, notably by Dr Probst in his *Liturgie der drei ersten christl. Jahrhunderte*. This writer finds in it a representation, in its main features, of the liturgy current in the ante-Nicene Church, and regards it as in substance apostolic in origin. The length of the prayers in *A. C.* he considers to be a proof of a greater antiquity than that of other liturgies, and he appeals to the parallel of the reforms attributed to Basil and Chrysostom, who are said by Proclus to have abbreviated the liturgies current in their day. He appeals further to the parallels of language found in Justin Martyr, as indicating the antiquity of the *A. C.* liturgy[1]. But neither of these arguments is convincing. For (1) the study of the relations between the *A. C.* liturgy and the Ethiopic Church Order exhibits a far greater developement on the part of *A. C.*[2] (2) The parallels of language found in Justin do not indicate the antiquity of the prayers in which they occur in *A. C.*, but only the early existence of a type of phraseology which later on became embodied in liturgical forms.

The antiquity of the *A. C.* liturgy has further been defended by Dr Bickell[3], who, accepting Probst's conclusions, contends that this liturgy is connected both in the order of its parts and even in its

[1] Probst, *op. cit.* pp. 281—295.

[2] See pp. 105 f.

[3] See *Messe und Pascha* (E. tr. by Skene, *The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual*, pp. 86 ff.).

expressions with the ritual of the Jewish Passover supper, while in the Canon it 'adheres in the smallest point to the Hallel recited over the fourth and last Passover cup[1].' This ingenious, though highly artificial, theory has been already noticed[2]. Many of the parallels adduced are purely accidental, nor do the facts prove more than that the prayers of the liturgy have derived their inspiration from the psalms and canticles of the Old Testament, and that in their earlier stages they may have been influenced to some extent by the memory of the benedictions and prayers in use among the Jews. They are insufficient to prove that the framework of the liturgy, as seen in *A. C.*, is based upon the ritual of the Passover[3].

A supplementary source of evidence to the account of the liturgy in Book viii of the Apostolic Constitutions is to be found in the shorter notice contained in Book ii of the same work[4]. This contains a short description of the rite, with directions for the ordering of the congregation. These directions are based upon the *Didascalia* and thus belong in the main to the third century, while the order of service dates from the time of the compiler of *A. C.*

With the help of these sources we may now briefly pass in review the chief features of the liturgy as exhibited in *A. C.*

The building is oblong and faces East, having sacristies at the east on both sides. The bishop's

[1] *Ibid.* p. 68. [2] See p. 10.

[3] For a criticism of Bickell's theory see Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques*, pp. 328 ff.

[4] cc. 57, 58.

throne is in the centre, the presbyters are ranged on either side of him, and the deacons stand near to him. The men sit on one side, the women have a place apart. The reader, 'standing on some high place,' reads two lessons from the Old Testament. Then another sings psalms, the people taking up the refrains[1]. Lessons are read from the Acts and Epistles, and finally the Gospel is read by a deacon or presbyter, the congregation standing. Then follow homilies by the presbyters, concluding with one by the bishop[2]. The sermon is preceded by the salutation (2 Cor. xiii. 4), to which the people respond 'And with thy spirit[3].' All stand up and the deacon utters the proclamation 'Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers (remain).'

Then follow the dismissals of the various classes of persons, catechumens, energumens, candidates for baptism (οἱ φωτιζόμενοι, *competentes*), and penitents[4]. The account in Book viii of the Apostolic Constitutions deals very fully with this portion of the rite, and is in fact our chief authority for the exact form of the dismissals, supplementing the more fragmentary notices of Chrysostom. The deacon first of all bids the catechumens to pray, and calls upon the faithful

[1] *A. C.* ii. 57. 6 ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω.

[2] Cf. the evidence of Jerome and *Peregrin. Etheriae* quoted on p. 82. See also p. 91.

[3] In Chrysostom the corresponding salutation is 'Peace be with all.'

[4] Mr E. Bishop notes that in *A. C.* ii., as in Can. 19 of the Council of Laodicea, only two dismissals (catechumens and penitents) are mentioned. See *J. Th. St.* xiv. 53 n. 1.

to pray for them, himself leading their prayers in a series of petitions to which the people respond 'Lord, have mercy.' At the conclusion the catechumens are bidden to rise, and the deacon invites them to join him in a further series of petitions[1]. Then he bids them bend their heads to receive the blessing of the bishop, who pronounces over them a prayer, whereupon they are dismissed by the deacon with the formula 'Catechumens, go forth in peace.' Similar petitions, followed by a blessing, are offered for each of the other classes of persons (though they do not rise and join in prayer, as do the catechumens), and they are in turn dismissed[2].

The second part of the service begins with a 'bidding' of prayers by the deacon. They include petitions for the peace and welfare of the world, for the Holy Catholic Church, for bishops and clergy, and various estates of men, for the sick and suffering, for enemies and persecutors, and for those who have gone astray. Like the prayers in the preceding portion of the rite, they are followed by the prayer of the bishop for the faithful. Then in the account of the compiler of Book viii, there follows the kiss of peace preceded by the salutation and response. Rubrics are given directing some of the deacons to keep order and silence among the children and adults[3],

[1] These petitions present some affinities of language to those described by Chrysostom. See pp. 91 f., and cf. *LEW.* 5. 1 f.; 471. 26 f.

[2] Cf. the parallels in Chrysostom and Etheria, pp. 83, 91.

[3] For parallels in *A. C.* Bk ii. see *LEW.* 28. 26 f.; for *Didascalia* see Funk, *op. cit.* 166. 2—3.

whilst others are to guard the doors[1]. Water is brought for the hands of the priests (ἱερεῖς), and a series of proclamations by the deacon follows. The first four of these are: (1) a warning against the presence of catechumens, hearers, unbelievers, heterodox: (2) a bidding to those who have 'prayed the first prayer' to approach: (3) a command to mothers to take charge of their children[2]; (4) the admonition 'Let none having aught against any, let none in hypocrisy...' These admonitions are strange, following as they do upon the dismissals and the kiss of peace. But in the description of the liturgy in Book ii of the Apostolic Constitutions these difficulties disappear. In this latter account rubrics are given enjoining that some of the deacons are to attend to the offering of the Eucharist, while others are to secure quietness among the people. Then follows the proclamation by the deacon, 'Let none having aught against any, let none in hypocrisy,' which introduces the kiss of peace, followed by a short diaconal litany[3], a blessing, and the anaphora. The direction, given in *A. C.*, Book ii, that deacons are to attend to the offering of the Eucharist, appears to be based upon the direction of the *Didascalia* that 'one of the deacons is always to attend to the offerings of the Eucharist' (*oblationibus*

[1] For this cf. *A. C.* ii. (*LEW.* 28. 12 f.).

[2] This and the parallel direction in *A. C.* ii. (*LEW.* 28. 21) appear to be based on the *Didascalia* (Funk, 164. 4—5).

[3] On this litany and other features of the liturgy in *A. C.* ii. see E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xiv. 53 f. He finds a parallel to the position of this litany in the prayer of intercession at the same point in the East Syrian Litany of Adai and Mari (*LEW.* 281. 30 f.).

eucharistiae), which refers to the collection of the people's offerings by the deacon[1]. In Book viii there is a proclamation by the deacon, 'let us with fear and trembling stand up to offer,' followed by the rubric 'after which let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar.' Here again we seem to have a similar reference to the people's offering.

The presbyters now range themselves to the right and left of the bishop, while two deacons wave fans to keep away insects. After silent prayer the bishop puts on a splendid vestment, makes the sign of the cross upon his forehead, and begins the anaphora with the salutation[2] and the *Sursum corda*, as in Cyril and Chrysostom. The long Eucharistic prayer which follows commemorates the majesty of God's being, the wonders of creation in nature and man, and the course of God's providence in human history and in His dealings with the chosen people, culminating in the description of the adoration of the angelic hosts, with reference to Dan. vii. 10 and Isaiah vi. 2, 3. Thereupon the people join in the *Sanctus*, which, like that in St Mark and the Coptic and Abyssinian rites, omits the *Hosanna* and the *Benedictus qui uenit*[3], and concludes 'blessed for ever.' The bishop now resumes the thanksgiving, taking his cue from the *Sanctus*[4], in the words 'For *holy* indeed art thou

[1] Cf. E. Bishop, *l. c.*

[2] The form is a variation of 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

[3] The *Hosanna* and *Benedictus* however are found after the *Gloria in excelsis* in the people's response to the *Sancta sanctis*.

[4] The same cue (ἅγιος εἶ) is found in the Syrian (James, Gr., Syr.), Nestorian, and Byzantine rites. For the Egyptian rites see p. 66.

...and holy is also thine only-begotten Son.' He proceeds to commemorate the redemption of man by the Incarnation, and rehearses the story of Christ's ministry and Passion, concluding with the account of the institution of the rite. This is introduced, as in the Eastern rites generally, by the words 'in the night in which he was delivered up.' It is more developed than the corresponding forms in the Ethiopic Church Order and in Sarapion, and contains several features found in other rites both Eastern and Western[1]. The most striking is the expression 'This is the mystery of the new testament' with which the words about the bread are introduced[2]. The Anamnesis which follows conforms to the Syrian and Byzantine type, being introduced by the words 'remembering therefore[3].' It commemorates the passion, death, resurrection, ascension, and return of

[1] Note (1) 'in his holy and blameless hands.' There are similar phrases in most Eastern rites and in the *de Sacramentis* and Roman Canon. (2) 'Looking up to thee, his God and Father.' The phrase 'looking up to heaven' (cf. Mk vi. 41, the feeding of the 5000) is found in James, and with the addition 'to thee his Father' or similar phrases in Mark, Coptic, Abyssinian, *de Sacram.*, and Roman Canon. (3) 'Broken.' Found in Eth. Ch. Order, Sarapion, *de Sacram.*, and most Eastern rites. (4) 'Unto remission of sins' (after 'broken'). So Sarapion, Mark, Copt., James (Gr., Syr.), Basil. (5) 'He mixed the cup with wine and water and sanctified it.' So James (Gr., Syr.) and Mark. Basil has 'mixed' only, the Coptic 'sanctified' only. (6) The words of St Paul (1 Cor. xi. 26) are in *A. C.* attributed to Christ. So James (Syr.), Mark, Coptic, Basil. Similarly *de Sacramentis* has *donec iterum ueniam.*

[2] Cf. the words in the Roman Canon *mysterium fidei* in connexion with the cup.

[3] See pp. 54 f. for the corresponding Egyptian forms.

Christ as judge of quick and dead, and contains an oblation of the bread and wine 'in accordance with his command.' Lastly comes the Invocation, which explicitly asks God to look favourably on the gifts lying before Him, and to send the Holy Spirit, 'the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus,' upon the sacrifice, that He may shew (*ἀποφήνῃ*)[1] the bread as the body of Christ and the cup as His blood, that those who receive them may be confirmed in godliness and receive remission of sins and attain eternal life.

The Anamnesis and Invocation in the Apostolic Constitutions exhibit many points of affinity with those of the Ethiopic Church Order. The text of the Ethiopic Church Order is here given in full, with the parallel extracts from the Apostolic Constitutions.

Apostolic Constitutions	Ethiopic Church Order
Remembering therefore his....death and resurrection....we offer to thee.... this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee...because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee	Remembering therefore his[2] death and his resurrection, we offer to thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minis-

[1] For this use of *ἀποφαίνειν* cf. the parallel use of *ἀναδεικνύναι* in the Invocation of Lit. of St Basil (*LEW.* 329. 32) and the word *ἀνάδειξις* in Basil, *de Spir. s.* xxvii. 66. See p. 119, n. 2. Cf. also Theophilus of Alexandria, *Lib. paschal.* i. (translated by Jerome, *Ep.* xcviii. 13) non recogitat...panem dominicum quo saluatoris corpus *ostenditur*. The Invocation in Sarapion has *ἵνα γένηται*, while Cyril of Jerusalem and St James have the more definite word *ποιεῖν* in this connexion.

[2] So the Latin (Hauler, p. 107) and some texts of the Ethiopic (Horner, p. 373).

and minister as priests to thee: and we beseech thee .....to send down thy Holy Spirit....upon this sacrifice, that...	ter as priests[1] to thee. We beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation of the Church that gathering them together[2] thou mayst grant to all them who partake [that it may be] for holiness and for filling with the Holy Spirit, and for strengthening of faith in truth.
[Epiclesis]	
those who partake of it may be strengthened in godliness.....may be filled with the Holy Spirit	
. . . . .	
Doxology (*LEW.* 23. 1 f.)	Doxology

But while the compiler appears to have incorporated a good deal of this common material, he has freely interpolated into it additions characteristic of his own style[3]. He has also modified his source in some particulars in order to bring it more into accord with the ideas of his own time. Thus, while the Invocation in the Ethiopic Church Order has in view the benefits which communicants are to receive from the reception of the consecrated gifts, in the Apostolic Constitutions the Invocation defines the effect of consecration upon the elements themselves. In fact the forms in the Apostolic Constitutions shew throughout the greater developement.

The intercessions which follow resemble closely in character and even in phraseology those contained in

[1] The Latin has simply *ministrare*.

[2] The Latin, *in unum congregans*, appears to give the sense of the original.

[3] Note especially the phrase used of the Holy Spirit 'the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus.' Cf. *A. C.* v. 1, 2.

the deacon's litany of the *missa fidelium*, and the parallels found in Chrysostom[1]. They also exhibit several parallels with the intercessions found in the Anaphora of the liturgy of St James, and appear to be based upon the Antiochene scheme. They conclude with an ascription of praise and the formula 'unto the ages of ages perpetual and endless,' a formula found in substance not only in Chrysostom, but also in Tertullian[2] in the West. The people respond, Amen.

The bishop again gives a salutation, and after a proclamation by the deacon there follows a short litany, which is in turn followed by a prayer by the bishop. There is no reference to the Lord's Prayer or to the Fraction. The former however is mentioned by Cyril and probably referred to by Chrysostom, who also alludes to the Fraction. It is possible that the Litany in *A. C.* was said during the Fraction[3].

The deacon now commands the attention of the faithful, and the bishop proclaims 'Holy things for holy persons,' to which the response is made:

One holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, blessed for evermore. Amen.

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace; good will towards men.

Hosanna to the Son of David.

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

God is the Lord and hath appeared unto us.

Hosanna in the highest.

[1] See p. 92, n. 6. [2] See ch. vi.

[3] This accords with the order of the Syriac St James. In the Greek St James, as in St Mark, the litany of the Fraction follows the *Sancta sanctis*. See *LEW.* 98. 16 f.; 62. 8 f.; 138. 20 f.

The *Hosanna* and *Benedictus qui uenit* (as well as the following words, 'God is the Lord,' etc.) are derived from Ps. cxviii. 25—27. Their position in *A. C.* after the *Sancta sanctis*, instead of in connexion with the *Sanctus*, as in all other rites except the Egyptian, may indicate that originally the words preceded the Communion, and have been shifted back in other rites. We may recall the occurrence of the *Hosanna* in the *Didache* (c. 10) immediately before the words 'If any be holy, let him come[1].' The use of these phrases from the Hallel psalms, which have also suggested much other liturgical language[2], is adduced by Bickell in support of his theory that the Anaphora was modelled on the Hallel.

The communion now takes place. After the bishop, presbyters, and deacons, the communicants approach in the following order: sub-deacons, readers, singers, ascetics, deaconesses, virgins, widows, children, and the lay people in order. Women communicate veiled[3]. The words of administration are 'The body of Christ,' 'The blood of Christ, the cup of life.' To each the communicant responds, Amen. During the communion Psalm xxxiv (which contains the words 'Taste

[1] The *Benedictus* is found before Communion in the *Testament of our Lord*, and in the modern Coptic and the later Byzantine rite (this latter has also the words 'God is the Lord,' etc.). See *LEW.* 186. 11; 396. 2 f. But these parallels cannot be quoted as independent evidence of any value.

[2] Cf. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*[2], p. 309.

[3] *A. C.* ii. 57. 21, where directions are also given to guard the doors, that no unbeliever or uninitiated person may enter.

and see how gracious the Lord is') is sung[1]. The consecrated elements are taken into the sacristy by the deacons. The deacon now exhorts the people to pray, whereupon they stand, and the bishop gives thanks for the communion[2]. Then follows the dismissal, the form of which corresponds with that employed in the dismissals of the catechumens and others. The deacon bids the faithful bow their heads to receive the blessing, and the bishop prays over them, whereupon the deacon announces the dismissal in the words 'Ye are dismissed in peace[3].'

A comparison of the sources which have been considered shews the existence in Syria and Palestine of a well-defined type of liturgy, which agrees in its main features with that which we know under the name of St James. But in the latter the elaborate dismissals in the *missa catechumenorum* have disappeared, owing to the changed conditions of Church life. The liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions has preserved some archaic features, which throw light upon the earlier history of this liturgy in the period before Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom. Such are the absence of the Lord's Prayer, and the place of the *Hosanna* and *Benedictus* in connexion with the *Sancta sanctis*, immediately before communion. On

[1] So Cyril of Jerusalem. Cf. p. 87.

[2] The form of thanksgiving in the Greek St James is independent of that in *A. C.*, but we may note the parallels *κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων* (*A. C.*) and *καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου τραπέζης* (James).

[3] The form of dismissal in Chrysostom more closely resembles St James than *A. C.*

the other hand, when compared with the liturgy of the Ethiopic Church Order it shews signs of developement, notably in its form of Invocation which contains (in the later manner) an express reference to the Body and Blood of Christ, a feature already found in Cyril of Jerusalem and Sarapion. Another sign of developement is the very full scheme of intercessions after the consecration.

In other respects we can recognize from our sources the existence before the end of the fourth century of characteristic features of the Syrian rite. Such are:

(1) The form of salutation at the opening of the Anaphora 'The grace of our Lord,' etc.[1], as contrasted with 'The Lord be with you,' which latter is found in the Egyptian and Roman rites.

(2) The cue which is taken up from the *Sanctus* in the long Eucharistic prayer, '*Holy* art thou'... whereas in the Egyptian rites the cue is taken from the words '*full* is heaven and earth.'

(3) As we have seen[2], the actual phraseology in the Eucharistic thanksgiving of *A. C.*, when compared with the quotations of Chrysostom and with the liturgy of St James, exhibits certain parallels in language and ideas which suggest that this portion of the rite was already beginning to acquire a stereotyped form.

(4) The form of Anamnesis in *A. C.* corresponds to the Syrian and Byzantine type, being introduced

[1] The same form is found in the East Syrian liturgy of Adai and Mari.

[2] See pp. 93 f., 103 f.

with the words 'remembering therefore,' while the corresponding Egyptian type has 'proclaiming the death, confessing the resurrection.'

(5) Lastly, we may notice the fully developed forms of the dismissals in the *missa catechumenorum* and of the diaconal litany in the *missa fidelium*. The very full evidence which Chrysostom supplies for these portions of the rite, and the concurrent testimony from the churches of Asia and Cappadocia[1], point to the fact that these developements were a characteristic of the Church of Antioch, from which they probably spread into other Eastern churches[2].

[1] See pp. 113, 116. [2] See ch. viii.

CHAPTER V

THE LITURGY IN OTHER EASTERN CHURCHES

None of the other churches of the East supply us with information about the liturgy, during the period covered by this volume, so complete as that which we possess in the case of Antioch and Syria. But we have more or less fragmentary pieces of evidence which enable us to see the general characteristics of the rite as found in the churches of Asia, of the Pontic exarchate, and of Constantinople. The ancient liturgy of the East Syrian Church, the liturgy of Adai and Mari, though overlaid with later elements, preserves in its Anaphora some primitive features, which call for notice, but the fuller treatment of the liturgy itself must be left for a later volume of the present series.

For Asia we have only the scanty details supplied by the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, the date of which may be placed somewhere about 363 A.D. From these it is possible to reconstruct some of the leading features. The lessons were taken from the Old and New Testaments[1], and between each lesson

[1] Can. 59.

a psalm was recited from a pulpit (ἄμβων)[1]. A lesson from the Gospel was included among them[2]. There was a sermon by the bishop[3], followed by the prayer of the catechumens and their departure[4]. This in turn was followed by the prayer of the penitents, who received a blessing[5], and then withdrew. Mention is made of 'three prayers of the faithful[6]'; the first is said in silence (διὰ σιωπῆς), the second and third are to be said 'aloud' (διὰ προσφωνήσεως). The prayers are presumably said by the celebrant[7]. Brightman however sees in this canon a reference to the biddings of the deacon, and regards the word προσφώνησις as used in its technical sense[8]. Whether however such diaconal litanies were in use at Asia during this period we have not evidence to shew.

The kiss of peace is given after the prayers of the faithful, and then 'the holy offering' is completed.

[1] Can. 17, 15. The reference in Can. 17 is primarily to the offices, but the principle of alternating lessons and psalms probably extended to the liturgy also.

[2] Can. 16. [3] Can. 19. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* The term for receiving the blessing is προσελθεῖν ὑπὸ χεῖρα. Cf. *Peregrin. Etheriae* (Duchesne, p. 492 f.), ad manum accedere.

[6] Can. 19.

[7] For the above interpretation cf. Palmer, *Origines*, I. 107 (ed. 4, London, 1845).

[8] *LEW.* 520, n. 9. With this interpretation the contrast is between the prayer of the celebrant without biddings or responses (διὰ σιωπῆς) and a prayer bidden by the deacon and responded to by the people (διὰ προσφωνήσεως). In the liturgy of *A. C.* προσφωνεῖν is used occasionally of the bidding of the deacon (*LEW.* 5. 10; 7. 3), though κηρύττειν and λέγειν are also used in this connexion (*LEW.* 3. 12; 3. 14; 7. 27; 23. 13).

During the communion the clergy enter the sanctuary to receive; the rest communicate without the sanctuary[1].

It is impossible from these scanty notices to draw any certain conclusions as to the relations of the liturgy in Asia to other types of liturgy current in the fourth century.

More important for the subsequent history of the liturgy is the evidence which comes from two other centres of Eastern Christianity, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Constantinople.

The developement of Church organization during the fourth century led to the extension of the influence of great sees over areas corresponding more or less to the civil divisions of the Empire. Thus we find the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia exercising a kind of patriarchal authority over the dioceses of Pontus, while the bishop of Heraclea exercised a similar authority over the dioceses of Thrace. But after the Council of Constantinople (381 A.D.) the see of Constantinople superseded Heraclea, and from that time onwards, in virtue of the precedence granted to it by the Council, pressed its claims to jurisdiction over Asia and Pontus as well. The greatest centre of ecclesiastical influence in the East in the latter part of the third century and during the fourth century was Antioch. The many important councils held in that city during this period brought the

[1] Can. 19. The direction in Can. 25 *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἄρτον διδόναι οὐδὲ ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν* is understood by Brightman to refer to the Agape (cf. Can. 27. 28) and to enjoin that no one below the rank of a deacon is to say grace.

Church of Antioch into close relations with the Churches of Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia, and its influence extended also to those of Thrace. The Church of Constantinople in the same way experienced the influence of Antioch, and it was from Antioch (or Caesarea) that many of its bishops came, during the period when it was rising into a position of pre-eminence. These facts help to explain the prevalence alike in Cappadocia and at Constantinople of a type of liturgy in all essential features corresponding to that of Syria.

Our chief authorities for the liturgy of the Cappadocian Church during this period are Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea, and Gregory Thaumaturgus, the apostle of Cappadocia, in the third century; and St Basil, St Gregory of Nazianzus (also his brother, Caesarius), and St Gregory of Nyssa, in the fourth century. There are also the Canons of the councils of Ancyra (314), Neocaesarea (*c.* 315), and Gangra (*c.* 358).

From these sources we may gain a fairly clear picture of the order of the churches and the congregations, as well as of the liturgy itself. Outside the church stood the class of penitents known as the Weepers (προσκλαίοντες) asking for the prayers of the faithful. Within the vestibule (νάρθηξ) stood the Hearers (ἀκροώμενοι) and the catechumens; at the bottom of the nave were the Kneelers (ὑποπίπτοντες), and above them the *Consistentes*, *i.e.* those who stood with the faithful throughout, but did not communicate. The sanctuary was separated from the nave by a

lattice (κιγκλίς). It contained the bishop's throne and the seats of the presbyters[1]. Mention is made of lessons from the prophets, apostles, and 'the Lord himself' (*i.e.* the Gospel), as also of psalms[2]. The people stood at the Gospel[3]. The sermon was preceded, as at Antioch, by the salutation 'Peace be with you[4].' The dismissals followed, the Hearers (οἱ ἀκροώμενοι) being first dismissed without prayer, after the sermon[5]. Then in succession the catechumens, the energumens (οἱ χειμαζόμενοι)[6], and the Kneelers (οἱ ὑποπίπτοντες) were dismissed after prayer[7].

Passing to the liturgy proper, we find what appear to be references to the 'biddings' of the deacon in the prayers of the faithful. Thus the Council of Ancyra[8] includes among the deacon's duties that of 'making proclamation' (κηρύσσειν), which probably includes the 'bidding' of prayers, as well as other proclamations made during the service. Basil[9], referring to certain intercessions which he specifies, speaks of them as 'proclamations of the church'

[1] For reff. see *LEW.* 523 f.

[2] Basil, *in Ps.* xxviii. 7; *in s. Bapt.* 1.

[3] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii. 5.

[4] Greg. Naz., *Or.* xxii. 1. For the sermon see Greg. Thaum., *Ep. can.* 11; Basil, *Ep.* ccxvii. 75.

[5] Greg. Thaum., *Ep. can.* 11.

[6] Council of Ancyra, can. 17. The prayer of the catechumens is not mentioned, though it is implied in the passage of Gregory Thaumaturgus. Similarly the dismissal of the energumens may be assumed (cf. *A. C.*), though only their presence at the service before this point is indicated.

[7] Greg. Thaum., *l.c.*, only refers to the dismissal of the Kneelers 'along with the catechumens,' without stating the relative order.

[8] Can. 2.

[9] *Ep.* clv.

(κηρύγματα ἐκκλησιαστικά), the reference most probably being to the prayers of the faithful[1]. The intercessions specified are too fragmentary to enable us to make a comparison of them with those found in other Eastern sources, but one or two expressions recall the language of prayers found in the Apostolic Constitutions[2]. There is nothing to indicate the relative order of the kiss of peace and the presentation of the offering, though both are referred to in our sources[3]. The Second and Third Canonical Epistles of St Basil[4] (*circa* 375 A.D.) indicate that the custom of the people making their offerings still continued in Pontus, though generally in the East it seems to have been dying out during the fourth century. The Council of Ancyra (can. 2) includes among the deacon's duties that of 'offering bread or a cup,' probably with reference to his bringing of the oblation to the altar[5]. Gregory of Nyssa alludes to the use of the *Sanctus*, the 'triumphal hymn[6],' which 'the six-winged Seraphim sing in company with full-grown Christians[7].'

[1] Probst (*Lit. des viert. Jahrh.* p. 150) thinks that κήρυγμα is the liturgical Canon. He quotes Firmilian's letter to Cyprian (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv. 10 sacramento solitae *praedicationis*) in support. The κηρύγματα would then be the intercessions in the Anaphora.

[2] The most striking is the prayer 'for those who manifest the spiritual fruits in the holy church,' which appears in substance in the Prayers of the Faithful in *A. C.* Cp. *LEW.* 11. 5.

[3] For the kiss of peace see Basil, *Poenae in monach. delinq.* 38. In the Lit. of St Basil the great Entrance precedes the kiss of peace.

[4] *Ep. Can.* ii. 22, 44; iii. 56, 75, 77.

[5] For the oblation see further Caesarius Naz., *Dial.* iii. 169.

[6] *in Resurr. Chr.* iii. (*P. G.* xlvi. 645 B) ὁ ἐπινίκιος ὕμνος. Cf. the Preface to the *Sanctus* in Lit. of St Basil (*LEW.* 323. 27).

[7] *de Bapt.* (*P. G.* xlvi. 421 C).

There are in the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers many close parallels of language to the thanksgiving of the Anaphora which bears the name of St Basil, and St Basil in one passage[1] has been thought to have had the Eucharistic thanksgiving in mind. But such parallels need to be used with caution, and cannot be adduced with any security as evidence of the existence of particular forms of prayer. They are interesting attestations of the currency of ideas and expressions which took shape in liturgical formularies, but more cannot be claimed for them.

There is an interesting passage in Basil's treatise *On the Holy Spirit*[2], which refers to the recital of the words of institution and to the Invocation in the Liturgy. Speaking of unwritten traditions he says: 'Which of the saints has left us the words of the Invocation at the consecration (ἀναδείξει) of the bread of the Eucharist and of the cup of blessing? For we are not satisfied with those words of which the Apostle or the Gospel made mention, but we utter both before and after them other words as having great importance for the mystery, receiving them from unwritten tradition.' In this passage Basil alludes to the account of the institution given by St Paul and the Gospels, on which the recitation of the institution during the liturgy was based.

Both Basil and Caesarius of Nazianzus quote the words of institution at the Supper, but their quotations

[1] *Reg. fusius tract.* ii. 3 sq. For other parallels see *LEW.* 525. n. 12.

[2] *de Spir. s.* xxvii. 66.

appear to be made freely, and they do not enable us to reconstruct any portion of the form used in the liturgy, though Caesarius exhibits a knowledge of variations in the text such as are found in some existing liturgical forms[1].

Basil speaks, as we have seen, of the Invocation as taking place at the consecration (ἀναδείξει)[2] of the bread and the cup. We have still earlier evidence from Cappadocia of the existence of an invocation in some form at the Eucharist in the letter of Firmilian of Caesarea to Cyprian, in which he refers to a woman who pretended to sanctify bread by an invocation and celebrate the Eucharist[3]. As to the exact form which the Invocation took in the Churches of Pontus we have not sufficient evidence to judge. Gregory of Nyssa refers to 'the power of the blessing' by which the elements are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ[4], and in dealing with the operative divine power by which material things are consecrated to sacred purposes he refers to the 'sanctification of the Spirit' as effecting the consecration of the bread

[1] Basil, *de Bapt.* i. 3. 2; Caesarius, *Dial.* iii. 169. The latter has the variations 'eat ye *all of it*,' and '*take*, drink.' For the former cf. *A. C.*, Syr.-James, Coptic. For the latter cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, Sarapion, Syr.-James, Coptic, Abyss.

[2] With the word ἀνάδειξις cf. the use of ἀναδεικνύναι in the Lit. of St Basil, the Invocation of which contains the words εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι (*LEW.* 329. 31 f.), while in the account of the institution it is used of Christ 'shewing' the bread to the Father (*LEW.* 327. 29). See further the note on ἀποφαίνειν in the liturgy of *A. C.* (p. 105, n. 1).

[3] Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv. 10, inuocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet.

[4] *Or. Cat.* 37.

and wine of the Eucharist, the oil of chrism, and the wood of an altar[1]. Elsewhere the Cappadocian Fathers re-echo the language of their favourite Alexandrine teachers and refer to the operation of the Logos in the Eucharist. Thus when Gregory of Nyssa speaks, like Origen, of the bread of the Eucharist as 'sanctified by the Word of God and prayer[2],' it seems probable from the context that, like Origen, he understood St Paul (1 Tim. iv. 5) to refer to the personal Word. Similarly Gregory of Nazianzus shews traces of the same Alexandrine influence when he says 'Do not neglect to pray and intercede for us, when by word you draw down the Word, when with bloodless cutting you divide the Lord's body and blood, using your voice as your sword[3].' But none of these writers quote the form of Invocation used in the Liturgy[4].

After the Anaphora came the blessing of the people[5]. The use of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy is not mentioned, but Gregory of Nyssa in his discourses on the Lord's Prayer seems to shew acquaintance with the prefatory words by which it was introduced in the liturgy[6]. Beyond incidental allusions to the Fraction and Communion[7] our sources throw no light on the concluding portion of the liturgy.

For the Church of Constantinople we have the

[1] *in Bapt. Chr.* (*P. G.* XLVI. 582 C).

[2] *Or. Cat.* 37. For Origen see p. 50.

[3] *Ep.* CLXXI.

[4] See further p. 126.

[5] Greg. Naz., *Or.* XVIII. 29.

[6] *de Or. Dom.* II (*P. G.* XLIV. 1140 C, 1141 D). Note especially τῆς παρρησίας, τολμῆσαι εἰπεῖν, and ἐπικαλεῖσθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν Πάτερ, and cf. the parallels in St James, St Mark, and St Basil.

[7] Greg. Nyss., *Or. Cat.* 37; Caesarius Naz., *Dial.* III. 169; Basil, *Ep.* XCIII., and the other refs. in *LEW.* 536, n. 19.

evidence of the writings of Chrysostom which belong to the period of his residence in that city, while a few supplementary facts are supplied by the Church historians of the fifth century, Socrates, Sozomen, and Philostorgius.

The evidence is fragmentary and not so full as that which is available for the Church of Antioch. But it points to the existence in both churches of the same general liturgical scheme. The opening salutation[1], the deacon's proclamation 'let us attend[2],' the three lessons (prophet, apostle, gospel)[3], the first being introduced with the words 'Thus saith the Lord[4],' are all referred to. The lessons were recited by a reader from some raised place[5]. This represents the earlier practice as found *e.g.* in Cyprian in the West[6]. Later on the Gospel was read by a deacon, a priest, or on high-days by a bishop[7]. The sermon, which was preceded by the salutation, as at Antioch, was followed by the dismissal of the catechumens[8]. The prayer of the catechumens is not referred to, but this is probably an accident, as it is very fully described in Chrysostom's Antiochene writings, and it has in fact survived in the later Byzantine liturgy. Nor is

[1] Chrys., *in Col.* iii. 3.

[2] *in Act. Ap.* xix. 5.

[3] *in Heb.* viii. 4.

[4] *in Act. Ap.* xix. 5.

[5] *in Heb.* viii. 4, *ἀνελθὼν ὁ ἀναγνώστης*, *i.e.* to the ambo (*τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν*, Sozomen, *H. E.* viii. 5).

[6] See ch. vi.

[7] Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 19.

[8] Chrys., *in Col.* iii. 3. There were sometimes two sermons (Chrys., *hom. inedit.* viii (*title*)). The dismissal of the catechumens is not definitely alluded to, but follows from what is said by Chrysostom, *in Phil.* iii. 4.

there any mention of the dismissal of the various orders of penitents. Chrysostom's silence on this point has sometimes been explained by reference to the fact that the predecessor of Chrysostom, the patriarch Nectarius, in 391 A.D. had abrogated the office of penitentiary. This office, according to Socrates[1], had been established in the third century in the time of the Novatianist controversy with the object of directing penitents, on confession of their sins, as to the exercises required of them before they were readmitted to communion. The account of Socrates has been held to imply that with the abolition of this office the system of public penitence fell into disuse, for he adds that the presbyter who advised Nectarius to take this course suggested that every man should be left at liberty to partake of the holy mysteries according to the direction of his own conscience. Sozomen adds in his account the further statement that almost everywhere the bishops followed the example of Nectarius, though at Rome and in the West the penitential system survived for some centuries. But whatever effect the action of Nectarius may have had on the penitential system, it is clear from the Syriac documents published by Nau that, as in the case of the catechumens, so in the case of the penitents, the forms of dismissal in the liturgy survived even when the conditions of Church life had changed, and that the form for the dismissal of penitents was

[1] Socrates, *H.E.* v. 19. Cf. Sozomen, *H.E.* vii. 16. On the whole question see Batiffol, *Études* 1.[4] 149 ff., and E. Schwartz, *Buss und Bussstufen* (Strassburg, 1911).

in existence in the East and at Constantinople after 530 A.D.[1]

The prayers of the faithful may be referred to in a passage[2] in which Chrysostom speaks of the greater efficacy of the common prayer of the Church than of prayers offered in private. In such common prayers he includes intercessions for the world, for the church 'to the utmost bounds,' for peace, and for those who are suffering calamities[3].

Theodoret[4] testifies to the fact that the grace (2 Cor. xiii. 14) in its Byzantine form (which is distinct from that of *A. C.* and St James) formed the prelude to the liturgy 'in all the churches.' Other parts of the liturgy to which there are either direct or implied references are the *Sursum corda* and the *Sanctus*[5]. Reference has already been made to a passage in a late work *ad eos qui scandalizantur*, which Brightman thinks may have been modelled upon the eucharistic thanksgiving[6]. As in his homilies at Antioch, so at Constantinople Chrysostom dwells upon the importance of the commemoration of the martyrs and the intercessions for the living and the dead at the moment of the sacrifice. From his language

[1] Nau, 'Littérature canonique syriaque inédite' in *Revue de l'orient chrétien*, XIV. (1909) pp. 46—48. The language of the prayer over the *auditores* there given presents some parallels with the prayer of the catechumens in Lit. of St Basil (*e.g.* 'pardon of sins,' 'robe of incorruptibility).' Cf. *LEW.* 315. 23 f., and for the liturgy of *A. C.*, *LEW.* 4. 20).

[2] *in Act. Ap.* XXXVII. 3.

[3] For similar prayers at Antioch see p. 92. Cf. p. 101.

[4] *ad Ioann. oec. ep.* 146 (ed. Sirmond, III. 1032).

[5] *in Heb.* XXII. 3; *in Col.* IX. 2.

[6] See p. 93, n. 7.

it seems probable that these commemorations and intercessions took place *after the consecration*. Thus he speaks of intercessions for the departed when 'angels and archangels are present, the Son of God is present.' Of the martyrs he says that it is a great honour for them to be named 'whilst the Master is present,' and he justifies the practice of intercession at this point by the analogy of petitions addressed to an emperor while sitting on his throne, and the favours bestowed on the occasion of an imperial triumph[1]. In addition to the commemoration of the martyrs and intercessions for the departed, he speaks of offerings made for the Church, the priesthood, and the whole body (τοῦ πληρώματος)[2].

Of diptychs we have mention in the correspondence of Cyril of Alexandria with Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople (406—425 A.D.), from which we learn that they were recited in the Churches of Antioch and Constantinople in the first quarter of the fifth century, and that the names of the living and the dead were contained in two separate tablets or books[3]. They appear to have been mere lists of the names of

[1] *in Act. Ap.* xxi. 4; cf. *in Phil.* iii. 4.

[2] *in Act. Ap.* xxi. 4. For τοῦ πληρώματος cf. *A.C.* (*LEW.* 23. 21). Mr E. Bishop (*J. Th. St.* XII. 389 n. 2) notes the distinction implied in the word used of the commemoration of martyrs (ὀνομασθῆναι) and the word used of others for whom intercession is offered (μνήμης ἀξιοῦσθαι). Before leaving the subject of the Intercessions in Chrysostom we may notice a parallel between the language of the prayer for the forgiveness of *sins voluntary and involuntary*, which Chrysostom says was made 'at the time of the offering' (*in Heb.* xvii. 2), and the similar prayer in the Intercession of St Basil (*LEW.* 336. 16 f.).

[3] See E. Bishop in Connolly's *Narsai*, pp. 102 f.

those who were to be commemorated. From the analogy of the practice described by Chrysostom and from the position which the diptychs occupy in the later Byzantine rite we may infer that they were recited in the intercession after the consecration[1].

Other passages in Chrysostom's writings of this period allude to the use of the Lord's Prayer during the mysteries[2], the salutation 'when the sacrifice is completed[3],' the *Sancta sanctis*, which is expressly quoted, with the further proclamation 'if any is not holy, let him not approach[4],' and the Communion[5]. Chrysostom mentions that some communicated once a year, others twice, others often, others again once in two years[6].

The general scheme of the liturgy exhibited in the Pontic writers and in Chrysostom's writings which belong to the period of his residence at Constantinople accords with that which we have found in the Apostolic Constitutions and in Chrysostom's Antiochene works. The evidence of the Cappadocian Fathers and other Pontic writers points to the existence of the same elaborate system of dismissals in the *missa catechumenorum* as prevailed at Antioch in the latter part of the fourth century, while at Constantinople, in spite of the changes in the penitential system of the

[1] On the recital of diptychs by the deacon, while the intercession formed part of the prayers said aloud by the celebrant, see E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xii. 396 f., where further evidence for the position of the intercession at Constantinople is also discussed.

[2] *hom. in Eutrop.* 5.

[3] *in Col.* iii. 3.

[4] *in Heb.* xvii. 5.

[5] *Ib.* xvii. 4.

[6] *Ib.* xvii. 4.

Church and the silence of Chrysostom, we have found reason to believe that the same system was current.

As we have seen, the Cappadocian Fathers are silent as to any express invocation of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy, though Basil refers to the existence of an invocation of some kind, while the two Gregories re-echo the language of Alexandrine writers and associate with the Eucharist the operation of the Logos. This however throws no light on the native usages of Cappadocia, but is due to their literary affinities with the Alexandrine school; nor is there any evidence that the liturgy in Cappadocia contained an Invocation expressly asking for the operation of the Logos. This latter form of Invocation appears to have survived in the fourth century only at Alexandria and in the Nile Delta, and even at Alexandria it was displaced in the latter part of the century by the express mention of the Holy Spirit. Hence we may regard it as practically certain that in Cappadocia and at Constantinople in the time of Basil and Chrysostom (though they supply no positive evidence of the fact) the Holy Spirit was named in the Invocation[1].

Beyond these facts, and the parallels found in our authorities to the language of some of the prayers found in the Byzantine rite, the evidence adduced

[1] We have no evidence to shew whether the Invocation in Cappadocia was of the earlier character found in the Ethiopic Church Order and Lit. of Adai and Mari, or whether it contained the decisive words (found in Cyril of Jerusalem, St James, *A. C.*, and St Basil) according to which it is the Holy Spirit who 'makes' or 'shews' the bread and wine (to be) the Body and the Blood of Christ.

supplies little material for the history of the distinctive features of the rites of St Basil and St Chrysostom[1].

For the East Syrian Church we have one source of evidence which cannot be passed over, though a fuller treatment of it must be left for a later volume of this series. The Anaphora of the ancient liturgy of Adai and Mari is probably earlier than 431 A.D. Though overlaid with some later elements it preserves ancient features which call for notice, and its evidence is the more important because it comes from a region which lay outside Greek-speaking Christendom and was not affected so early or to so great an extent as other regions in Eastern Christendom by the developements which were taking place in Greek-speaking lands during the fourth century.

In this Anaphora we may notice the following features:

(1) The words of institution are not found[2], nor is there any clear parallel to the formal Anamnesis which finds a place after the recital of the Institution in most Eastern and Western rites (except Sarapion)[3].

[1] Note *e.g.* the reference to the Byzantine form of the salutation in Theodoret (p. 123); Basil's use of the word *ἀνάδειξις* (p. 119); lastly the parallels to the language of Byzantine forms in the Eucharistic prayer supplied by the writings of Basil and Chrysostom (pp. 118, 123). On the other hand there are several parallels with the language of liturgical forms in *A. C.* in the various intercessions described by Basil and Chrysostom (pp. 117, 123).

[2] There is no MS. authority for the insertion of the words as found in Brightman (*LEW.* 285. 12 f.) or the S.P.C.K. translation (*Lit. of Holy Apostles Adai and Mari*, p. 23). See the remarks of Dom Connolly, *Narsai*, p. lxiii.

[3] The words 'celebrating...this great and awful and holy... mystery, of the passion and death and burial and resurrection of

(2) The Invocation recalls that found in the Ethiopic Church Order, in that it contains no prayer for the change of the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ, but asks that the Holy Spirit may 'rest upon' the oblation and 'bless and hallow it' and that it may 'be to us...for the pardon of debts and for the forgiveness of sins and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead and for new life in the kingdom of heaven, with all those who have been well-pleasing to thee[1].'

(3) The remaining prayers before Communion, like those in the Ethiopic Church Order, are in their general tenour preparatory to Communion, and there is nothing corresponding to the intercessions for the dead described by Cyril of Jerusalem or the very full intercessions which find a place here in the Apostolic Constitutions[2].

The significance of these features will be considered later on. For the present it is sufficient to point out the fact that in one quarter of Christendom there survived early in the fifth century a type of liturgy, which alike in the wording of its prayers and its conceptions lay outside the type which from the fourth century onwards became the normal type in Greek-speaking lands.

...Jesus Christ,' which introduce the Invocation, are regarded as suspicious and possibly containing interpolated matter by Mr E. Bishop (see Connolly's *Narsai*, p. 97, n. 1).

[1] S.P.C.K. translation, p. 26.

[2] The short prayer for peace (*LEW.* 288. 13 f.) does not really constitute an exception to the above statement.

CHAPTER VI

THE LITURGY IN NORTH AFRICA

For the reconstruction of the liturgy in North Africa we have no such liturgical forms as are available for the history of the liturgy in Egypt and Syria. Nor do we possess any formal treatise on the liturgy, like the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem. On the other hand, the fragmentary notices of Tertullian, Cyprian, Optatus, and Augustine enable us to reconstruct very fairly the scheme of the liturgy, and supply us with occasional notices of some of the shorter liturgical formulae which were current.

The references of Tertullian to the Christian gatherings fall into three classes. (1) We have an account in his *Apology*[1] of a service at which prayers and intercessions were offered, the Scriptures were read, and exhortations were delivered. There is a description of a similar service, held on Sunday, in his treatise *On the Soul*[2]. This also consisted of readings from Scripture, psalms, addresses (*adlocutiones*), and prayers. (2) In the chapter of the *Apology*, already referred to, Tertullian describes a

[1] c. 39. [2] c. 9.

Christian meal which was preceded by prayer, and which bore the character of a social gathering, accompanied however by religious exercises. At its close water for the washing of the hands, and lights, were brought in, and the brethren sang praises to God either from Scripture (*i.e.* Psalms) or of their own composing. The feast concluded with prayer. The whole description implies that the meal took place in the evening, and it seems a legitimate inference that it was the Agape. (3) Elsewhere[1] Tertullian refers to the Eucharist, of which, however, he gives no detailed account. It was celebrated early in the morning[2].

From these indications we gather that the Eucharist was already distinct from the Agape in the time of Tertullian[3]. But the question of its relation to the first of the three kinds of gatherings described above is not so easy to determine. The passage in the treatise *On the Soul* has been interpreted to refer to the Sunday vigil service, which was held before dawn[4]. The existence of such vigil services in connexion with Easter is implied in Tertullian's reference to the anxiety of the heathen husband at his wife's absence all night long at the Paschal solemnities[5],

[1] See *e.g. de Orat.* 14; *de Corona* 3; *ad Uxor.* ii. 4.

[2] *de Cor.* 3.

[3] Batiffol maintains that the Eucharist (not the Agape) is described in *Ap.* 39. But his arguments are not convincing. On the whole question see Keating, *Agape*, p. 62 f.; Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 1[4]. p. 300 f.; Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen*, III. (1907), pp. 1 ff.

[4] See Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire romain*, p. 5.

[5] *ad Uxor.* ii. 4.

and we have further evidence that in the time of Cyprian vigils were held in connexion with the martyrs' 'birthdays[1].' But there is no positive evidence of the existence of a Sunday vigil in the time of Tertullian in North Africa. On the other hand, the passage from the treatise *On the Soul* has been understood to refer to the Sunday *missa catechumenorum*[2]. From Justin we learn that at Rome in the middle of the second century this 'service of the word' was already associated with the Eucharist proper and served as an introduction to it[3]. The same may have been the case at Carthage. In one passage, however, Tertullian seems to suggest that the two might be distinct[4], and traces of this distinction will be noted when we come to examine the evidence of Augustine[5].

We have further details as to the character of this preliminary service in several passages of Tertullian and Cyprian. The former alludes to the reading of the law, the prophets, the Gospels, and the letters of Apostles[6]. Similarly Tertullian and Cyprian refer to the office of reader[7]; the latter also to the reading of the Gospel, and to the pulpit (*pulpitum*) from which

[1] *Vita Cypriani* 15.

[2] Cf. Bäumer (ed. Biron), *Histoire du bréviaire*, pp. 99 f.

[3] See p. 37. [4] See p. 37 n. 4.

[5] p. 144. Cabrol, *DACL.* art. 'Afrique (liturgie anténicéene de l'),' argues in favour of the distinction of the two.

[6] *de Praescr.* 36; *de Monogam.* 12; *Ap.* 22.

[7] Tert. *de Praescr.* 41; Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxviii. (xxxiii.) 2. In the letter of Cornelius of Rome to Fabius of Antioch the 'reader' is classed below acolytes and exorcists (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 43). See Turner, *Camb. Med. Hist.* I. 149; Maclean, *Anc. Ch. Orders*, 85 f.

it was read[1]. In one passage Cyprian appears to refer to a blessing or salutation preceding the lesson[2]. With regard to the psalms of which Tertullian speaks in one of the passages quoted above, it is doubtful whether they came between the lessons or after them. From Cyprian we learn that the sermon was sometimes based upon one of the lessons which had been read[3]. Lastly, Tertullian tells us that at the Christian gatherings prayers were offered for the Emperors and all in authority; for the condition of the world, for peace, and for the delay of the end of all things[4].

The discipline which guarded the mysteries from all but the faithful is familiar to Tertullian. In speaking of the heretics he says that it is doubtful who is a catechumen, and who is a believer. 'Alike they approach, alike they hear, alike they pray, even the heathen, if they come upon the scene; they will cast that which is holy to the dogs, and pearls, though they be only false ones, before swine[5].' This indiscriminate admission of all alike to their most sacred rites by heretics seems to be contrasted with Catholic custom, which fenced off the mysteries from all but the faithful.

Passing to the Eucharist proper, we find in Tertullian and Cyprian evidence of considerable developements connected with it. It is called 'the Lord's feast' (Tert.), 'the sacrament of the Eucharist'

[1] *Ep.* xxxviii. (xxxiii.) 2. Cf. *Ep.* xxxix. (xxxiv) 4.
[2] *Ep.* xxxviii. (xxxiii.) 2.
[3] *de Mortalit.* 1.
[4] *Ap.* 39.
[5] *de Praescr.* 41.

(Tert.), 'the Lord's sacrifice' (Cypr.). The phrases 'to offer the Eucharist,' 'to offer sacrifice,' 'to partake of the sacrifice' are employed in connexion with it, and the terms 'altar' (*altare*, *ara*) and 'priest' (*sacerdos*) are freely employed in a Christian sense[1]. Cyprian however marks a considerable advance on Tertullian in his conceptions of the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist. In Tertullian the term 'sacrifice' is still used in its earlier sense of the people's offering[2], while Cyprian definitely conceives of the Eucharist as the sacrifice of the Lord's Body and Blood[3].

The Eucharist, as we have seen, was celebrated early in the morning, and the communion appears to have been received fasting[4]. Other details as to customs observed in the North African Church are as follows:

(1) Both Tertullian and Cyprian refer to the practice of offering the Eucharist in commemoration of the martyrs, the title *natalitia* or 'birthdays' being given to them[5]. These commemorations were of a festal character, and in the time of Cyprian were preceded by a vigil. They were intended to keep alive the sense of the communion of the Church with those who had attained to blessedness through martyrdom. Of a different character were the annual

[1] Swete, *J. Th. St.* iii. 166 f.

[2] Cf. Wieland, *Mensa u. Confessio*, p. 53 f.

[3] See p. 139. On Cyprian's use of sacrificial language see E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 265 f.

[4] Tert. *de Cor.* 3; Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii. 16; Tert. *ad Uxor.* ii. 5. Cf. p. 143.

[5] Tert. *de Cor.* 3; Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxix. (xxxiv.) 3.

commemorations of the departed (other than martyrs), in which the Eucharist was celebrated for their 'repose' (*dormitio*), and in which prayers were offered for their 'refreshment' (*refrigerium*), and that they might obtain 'a part in the first resurrection[1].' Like the corresponding commemorations mentioned in the *Didascalia*, they would take place in the cemeteries, and are to be distinguished from the Sunday synaxes or gatherings for worship[2]. We have a still earlier reference to such commemorations in the East in the letter of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp[3].

(2) A second practice, which also appears for the first time in the Church of North Africa, is that of taking the Eucharist from Church and reserving it at home to be partaken of in private[4].

(3) Tertullian alludes to the rule of the Church which forbade the practice of kneeling in worship on Sundays and during the period between Easter and Pentecost[5].

We find what may be an allusion to the prayers with which the liturgy proper began in the description which Tertullian gives of the intercessions offered in Christian worship, and in his account of the general character of prayer as practised by Christians. In his *Apology*[6] he speaks of Christians as praying for

[1] Tert. *de Monogam.* 10; Cyprian, *Ep.* i. (lxvi.) 2.
[2] Wieland, *Mensa u. Confessio*, p. 57 f.
[3] *Mart. Polycarpi* 18.
[4] Tert. *de Cor.* 3; *ad Uxor.* ii. 5; *de Orat.* 19; Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, 26.
[5] Tert. *de Cor.* 3. [6] *Ap.* 30, 31, 39.

the Emperor and governors, for the Empire, the army, the Senate and people, and for the peace of the world. In his treatise *On Prayer*[1] he speaks of Christians as offering intercessions for persecutors, for the departed, the sick, the possessed, and for prisoners. The description bears a general resemblance to the subject matter of the Good Friday prayers in the Roman rite and to the litany prayers of the Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites. The phrase *in mente habere in orationibus* employed by Cyprian and one of his correspondents in connexion with requests for the prayers of those to whom they write[2] finds a parallel in the saying of St Fructuosus, a Spanish martyr of the third century, who in reply to a request of someone to remember him, answered 'I must have in mind (*in mente habere*) the Catholic Church which is spread from East to West[3].' In the deacon's litany of the Mozarabic rite we find similar language 'ecclesiam sanctam catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus[4].' But it would be hazardous to assume[5] on the strength of these parallels that the phrase had obtained a fixed place among the liturgical formulae of the North African Church in the time of Cyprian. The expression *in mente habere* is used by Tertullian[6],

[1] *de Orat.* 29.

[2] Cyprian, *Ep.* lxii. (lx.) 4; lxxix. (lxxx.); cf. Augustine, *Serm.* 273. 2, where *in mente habere* is used of the request, while in the reply of Fructuosus *orare* is substituted.

[3] *Acta Fructuosi* 3, in Ruinart, *Acta mart. select.* (ed. 1713), p. 221.

[4] Ed. Lesly, pp. 3, 224.

[5] See *e.g.* W. C. Bishop in *J. Th. St.* xiii. 254 f.

[6] *ad Uxor.* ii. 4.

not necessarily as a liturgical formula, though possibly with reference to prayer for others. It is found in a graffito at Pompeii, and occurs in Christian inscriptions at Rome, Aquileia, and in North Africa, sometimes with the addition *in orationibus*[1]. Its early currency in Christian phraseology would explain its adoption into later liturgical use.

From two passages of Cyprian it has been inferred that there was a public recital of the names of living and departed members of the Church in the liturgy. The former of the two passages[2] refers to the unauthorized reception to communion of those who have lapsed, and speaks of their 'name being offered.' But the reading of the passage appears to be faulty, and the more recent editors give the correction 'offering is made in their name[3].' The second passage[4] refers to the decision of an earlier African Council to the effect that those who appointed by their will a cleric to be *tutor* or *curator* were to have no offering made for them nor sacrifice celebrated for their repose. Such an one, by wishing to divert the priests and ministers from the altar, 'does not deserve to be

[1] For Rome see Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 441, Marcianum Successum Severum spirita sancta in mente havete et omnes fratres nostros; for Aquileia, *ibid.* p. 161, martyres sancti in mente havite Maria; for North Africa see Willmanns, *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* viii. n. 9708, in mente habeas servum dei. Probably none of these inscriptions is earlier than the fourth century. The parallel Greek phrase εἰς μνείαν ἔχετε also occurs in inscriptions. For the addition *in orationibus* see Marucchi, p. 440, sante Suste in mente habeas in horationes Aureliu Repentinu. See further De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, ii. 18 f.

[2] *Ep.* xvi. (ix.) 2.

[3] Reading *offertur nomine eorum* (Hartel).

[4] *Ep.* i. (lxvi.) 2.

mentioned in the prayer of the priests.' But, as we have seen, both Tertullian and Cyprian refer to the custom of celebrating the Eucharist with special intention on behalf of the departed, and to the annual commemorations of the dead, and this is probably all that is meant in this passage. It is inadequate evidence of the existence of a public recitation of the names of the dead in the normal Eucharists of the Church.

In one passage Cyprian mentions the fact that some came to church 'without a sacrifice[1].' This is a reference to the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of gifts of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the Eucharist were taken, and partly of alms. This custom, which continued in the West longer than in the East, explains the constantly recurring phrases in Tertullian and Cyprian *oblationes facere, oblationes annuae, offerre,* which are used of the people's offerings[2]. Cyprian also speaks of the mixed cup of wine and water, and sees in it a symbol of the union of Christ with His people[3].

In Cyprian's treatise *On the Lord's Prayer*[4] we find the earliest reference to the Western Preface *Sursum corda,* with the response *Habemus ad dominum.* A possible allusion to the *Sanctus* has been suggested in some words of Tertullian's treatise *On Prayer*[5], but there is no distinct reference to the Eucharist in

[1] *de opere et eleem.* 15.

[2] Tert. *Exhort. cast.* 11; *de Cor.* 3; Cyprian, *Ep.* xvi. (ix.) 2.

[3] *Ep.* lxiii. 13. [4] *de Orat. Dom.* 31.

[5] *de Or.* 3 cui illa angelorum circumstantia non cessant dicere: sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.

the passage. A more probable allusion is supplied by some words in the *Acts of Perpetua*[1], written in North Africa about the beginning of the third century. In them the martyr Saturus tells how in a vision he had heard voices saying in one accord and without ceasing 'Holy, holy, holy.' The whole vision seems to be modelled upon reminiscences of a Christian assembly, as mention is made of elders who are placed on the right and the left of the white-haired figure, and who say 'Let us stand (for prayer)[2].' Moreover, the actual words are given in their Greek form (*Agios, agios, agios*), which suggests a liturgical formula, while the preceding words, 'without cessation,' recall the familiar phrase (ἀκαταπαύστως) of Eastern liturgies[3].

The Eucharistic thanksgiving is alluded to both by Tertullian and Cyprian. The former, referring to the Gnostic distinction of the supreme God from the Creator, speaks of 'offering thanksgivings over strange bread to another god[4],' while the latter says that it was the custom in the Christian sacrifices and prayers to give thanks unceasingly to God the Father and to Christ His Son our Lord, and to pray and make request[5].

As we have already indicated, Cyprian's language on the sacrifice in the Eucharist marks a considerable advance on that of Tertullian and was probably in

[1] c. 12.

[2] Stemus ad orationem. The last two words are bracketed by Gebhardt.

[3] Cf. the *incessabili uoce* of the *Te Deum*.

[4] *adv. Marc.* i. 23. [5] *Ep.* lxi. (lviii.) 4.

advance of that of his time. The two elements in which this advance is shewn are (1) the definite conception of the Eucharistic sacrifice as the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, (2) the association of this sacrifice with the sacrifice of the Cross. He compares the high-priesthood of Christ with that of Melchizedek, and starting from the account of the institution he asserts that Christ offered to God the Father bread and wine, 'that is, His Body and Blood.' He further commanded this to be done in remembrance of Him. Hence the priest discharging the function of Christ (*uice Christi fungitur*) 'offers to God the Father in the Church a true and full sacrifice,' when he imitates what Christ did and fully carries out His words and acts[1]. Moreover, in this sacrifice 'mention is made of His Passion; for the Passion is the Lord's sacrifice which we offer.' Similarly he speaks of 'offering the blood of Christ,' or 'offering the cup in commemoration of His Passion[2].' The ideas thus adumbrated are not worked out into a systematic theory, and Cyprian still shews traces of a symbolical view of the sacrifice[3], but the forms in which his devotion finds expression provided the basis for later theological exposition.

Tertullian refers to the words of institution by which Christ made the bread His Body, or as he explains it, 'the figure' of His Body[4], while Cyprian,

[1] *Ep.* lxiii. 4, 10, 14. [2] *Ibid.* 9, 17.

[3] Note *e.g.* '*imitates* what Christ did,' 'offering the cup in *commemoration* of the Passion.'

[4] *adv. Marc.* iv. 40.

in language which reminds us of the Anamnesis, says 'we make mention of His Passion in all our sacrifices,' 'we celebrate the Lord's resurrection early in the morning[1].'

Of the consecration of the gifts Cyprian makes mention in two passages. Speaking of an apostate bishop, he says that 'the oblation cannot be sanctified (*sanctificari*) where the Holy Spirit is not[2].' In the second passage he speaks of 'the Lord's sacrifice' as 'celebrated with the appointed sanctification' (*legitima sanctificatione*)[3]. There is an interesting point of contact with later Western liturgical phraseology in the reference to the sacrifice of Melchizedek, which Cyprian compares with the offering of bread and wine made by Christ at the Last Supper[4]. The comparison may have been a commonplace of early Christian thought in the West, and so have found its way into the liturgy[5].

In a passage of the *de Spectaculis*[6] Tertullian has been thought to allude to the concluding words (*in saecula saeculorum*) of the Eucharistic prayer. Referring to those who frequent the games, he asks them how they could give testimony to a gladiator with that mouth wherewith they had answered Amen at the Eucharist[7], or say 'World without end' (εἰς

[1] *Ep.* lxiii. 17, 16. [2] *Ep.* lxv. (lxiv.) 4. [3] *Ep.* lxiii. 9.

[4] *Ep.* lxiii. 4. Cf. the reference to the offering of Melchizedek in the prayers of the *de Sacramentis* and the Roman Canon.

[5] Cf. Tert., *adv. Iudaeos*, 2. [6] c. 25.

[7] The Latin is *in sanctum*. For the phrase *sanctum domini* or *sanctum* to denote the Eucharistic elements see Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, 26. The Amen is that with which communicants responded on reception.

αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος)[1] to any other but God and Christ.

In the time of Augustine the Eucharistic prayer was followed by the Lord's Prayer and the kiss of peace. Of the use of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy in the time of Tertullian and Cyprian there is no clear indication. Tertullian makes more than one allusion to the kiss of peace, and reproves the custom of some at Carthage, who when 'keeping a station' (he is referring apparently to *private* fasts) withheld the kiss of peace after prayer with the brethren. He urges upon them that the kiss of peace is 'the seal of prayer[2].' No prayer and no sacrifice is complete without it[3]. His language implies that it was not exclusively a feature of the liturgy. What exactly was its place in the liturgy the references of Tertullian do not enable us to say[4].

From Cyprian we gather that the faithful received the communion in the right hand[5], and from Tertullian and the *Acts of Perpetua* that they responded *Amen*

[1] For the Greek formula compare the Greek form of the *Sanctus* quoted from the *Acts of Perpetua*, p. 138.

[2] *de Orat.* 18 signaculum orationis. Cf. Innocent, *Ep. ad Decent.* 1 omnia quae in mysteriis aguntur...finita esse pacis concludentis signaculo.

[3] *Ibid.* But on Good Friday, which was a *public* fast, Tertullian (*ibid.*) informs us that it was the general custom to omit the kiss of peace. For the kiss of peace see also *Acta Perpetuae*, 12, 21.

[4] Cabrol (*DACL.* art. 'Afrique (Lit. anténicéene de l')') concludes on insufficient grounds that the 'prayer with the brethren' (*de Orat.* 18) was the Lord's Prayer, and that the Pax closely followed on it. Probst thinks it came, as in Justin, before the Offertory (*Lit. der drei erst. Jahrh.*, 373 f.).

[5] *Ep.* lviii. (lvi.) 9.

on reception[1]. The deacons administered the cup[2], and, as we have seen, the faithful were allowed to carry away with them the consecrated bread, which was laid up in an *arca* or casket for reception at home[3]. The dismissal of the people is referred to by Tertullian[4].

Our next sources of information about the North African liturgy follow at a considerable interval after Cyprian. Optatus, bishop of Milevis, wrote his work against the Donatists about 363 A.D. Augustine was bishop of Hippo during the years 395—430 A.D. The period covered by these writers was marked by some important developements alike in Eucharistic conceptions and liturgical practice. With regard to the former we may notice in Optatus the greater definiteness of his language with regard to the Eucharist when compared with that of the earlier period. The altar is 'the seat of the body and blood of Christ,' the place 'where His body and His blood used to dwell for certain moments of time.' The chalices 'carry the blood of Christ[5].' On the other hand Augustine is singularly free from this 'localizing' tendency, and his thought is more closely related to that of Tertullian and Cyprian, of which it represents a more reflective and developed stage[6]. But it is possible that Augustine is here less representative of popular piety in North Africa than Optatus. Augustine is dominated by a theory of sacraments, the chief feature of

[1] *de Spectaculis*, 25; *Acta Perpetuae*, 4.
[2] Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, 25. [3] *Ibid.* 26.
[4] *de Anima*, 9. [5] *c. Donat.* vi. 1. 2. [6] Batiffol, *Études*, II. 233.

which is the distinction between the visible sign and the invisible *res*. In this respect the influence of his teaching held in check for some centuries in the West the newer developements which from the fourth century onwards tended to emphasize the conversion of the elements and a 'localized' view of the Eucharistic presence. On the other hand, Augustine's conception of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, while gathering up the various elements in earlier thought, took shape in a very explicit theory. Like Cyprian he dwells upon the fact that it is 'the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ[1].' Like Cyprian again he relates it to the sacrifice of the Cross[2]. But he advances beyond Cyprian in his conception of its propitiatory value, especially in connexion with the offering of it for the departed[3].

From Augustine we learn that the Eucharist was in some places celebrated daily, in others at fixed intervals[4]. The time was early in the morning and before meals[5], though the Third Council of Carthage (397 A.D.) made an exception as to the rule of fasting communion on Maundy Thursday[6].

Augustine distinguishes the two parts of the liturgy and speaks of the dismissal of catechumens

[1] *de An. et Orig.* I. 11. 13; II. 15. 21; cf. *Conf.* IX. 12. 32, sacrificium pretii nostri.

[2] *c. Faust.* XX. 18, 21; *Ep.* XCVIII. 9 (*ad Bonifacium*); *de Civ. Dei*, X. 20.

[3] See *e.g. de An. et Orig.* II. 15. 21; *Enchirid.* 110. Cf. *Serm.* 172. 2.

[4] *in Ioann.* XXVI. 15; *Ep.* 228. 6.

[5] *Serm.* 128. 4.

[6] Can. 29.

after the sermon[1]. The preparatory service of lessons, psalms, and sermon (known later as *missa catechumenorum*) was sometimes celebrated in another church in Augustine's day[2], as at Jerusalem in the time of Etheria.

The *missa catechumenorum* was preceded by a salutation[3]. The lessons were taken from the Epistles and Gospels, though sometimes a lesson from the Old Testament came first[4]. The Gospel was read last, and was preceded by a psalm, which, though called a 'lesson,' was sung[5]. This psalm corresponds to the Roman Gradual and the Milanese psalm. Apparently the Acts of martyrs were also read on the days on which they were commemorated[6]. Augustine's reference to 'silence being kept' before the lessons[7] may indicate some injunction by the deacon (cf. the *silentium facite* of the Mozarabic rite). The lessons were followed by the sermon, after which the catechumens were dismissed. At the conclusion of many of Augustine's sermons we find the formula *Conuersi ad dominum*, which appears to have been a recognized cue, introducing a prayer, the full form of which is given in several of his extant sermons[8].

For the liturgy proper Augustine's evidence is

[1] *Serm.* 49. 8. [2] *Serm.* 325. 2.

[3] Third Council of Carthage, can. 4; Augustine, *Ep.* 53. 1. 3.

[4] For two lessons see *Serm.* 165. 1; 176. 1. For O.T. lessons see *Serm.* 200. 2; Optatus, *c. Donat.* vi. 6.

[5] *Serm.* 49. 1; 176. 1.

[6] *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8. 22. [7] *ibid.* 8. 21

[8] *Sermones*, 1, 18, 26. For the full form see *Sermones*, 34, 67, 272, 362.

much fuller. He refers to the 'prayers of the faithful[1],' to the bishop's exhortation or 'bidding' to prayer, to the bishop's own prayer, and to the 'common prayer' enjoined by the proclamation of the deacon[2]. The 'biddings' referred to included petitions for unbelievers that they might be converted, for catechumens that they might be inspired with a desire for regeneration, for the faithful that they might persevere[3].

The indications thus afforded find some sort of parallel in the Roman Good Friday prayers, which Duchesne thinks may represent the original 'prayers of the faithful[4].' In these we find a series of biddings, with intervals of private prayer by the people, preceded by the deacon's proclamation *flectamus genua*, and followed by the corresponding *leuate*. A collect sums up each series of petitions[5]. It is possibly some such form of prayer to which the allusions in Augustine point[6].

Augustine's use of the word *deprecari* of the

[1] *Ep.* 217. 29. The expression is not necessarily used in its later technical sense. Earlier in the same epistle (§ 13) Augustine has *orationes credentium*.

[2] *Ep.* 217. 2, 26, 29; *Ep.* 55. 18. 34. Note in the last passage 'communis oratio uoce diaconi indicitur.'

[3] *Ep.* 217. 2 f. [4] *Chr. Worship*, p. 172.

[5] Wilson, *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 75.

[6] Mr E. Bishop (*J. Th. St.* xii. 404 f.) contends that there is no evidence of the use in the West of litanies after the Eastern pattern earlier than the litanies of Alcuin and the Stowe Missal, and he thinks that the compilers of these litanies drew their inspiration from the Church of Constantinople. He would assign to both documents a date in the latter years of the fifth century or the early years of the sixth.

bishop's prayer (or collect)[1], when compared with the form of bidding at the conclusion of one of his sermons[2], 'Conuersi ad dominum ipsum *deprecemur ...dignetur*,' may point to the existence of a stereotyped formula, into which particular biddings were inserted. There is an interesting parallel to this use of *deprecari* in the titles '*deprecatio* Martini,' '*deprecatio* Gelasii,' given to later Western litany forms[3], while the formula *deprecamur dominum ut dignetur* is found in the Mozarabic Good Friday prayers for penitents[4].

In one of his epistles[5], Augustine alludes to offerings made by the people and especially to 'the oblation of the holy altar,' *i.e.* the bread and the wine from which the elements for consecration were taken, and which were offered by the people through the priest[6]. The Third Council of Carthage (can. 24) enjoined that in the Eucharist only bread and wine were to be offered, and that no further offering was to be made 'in the sacrifices' (another reading is 'in the first-fruits') except grapes and corn. The Greek and Latin collection of African canons mentions also honey and milk (in connexion with the baptismal rites), and these are to receive their own special blessing to distinguish them from the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ[7].

[1] *Ep.* 55. 18. 34. [2] *Serm.* 362 *ad fin.*

[3] See E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xii. 407. On the *deprecatio Gelasii* see W. Meyer, *Gildae oratio rhythmica*, in *Nachrichten v. der königl. Gesell. der Wissensch. zu Gottingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1. (Berlin, 1912), pp. 87—108. [4] Lesly, p. 171. [5] *Ep.* 149. 16.

[6] *Ep.* iii. 8. [7] *Cod. Can. Afr.* 37 (Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 1068).

The practice of singing a psalm before the Offertory and also at the Communion is alluded to by Augustine, who tells us that the custom was new in his time and had excited opposition[1].

Augustine refers to the recital at the altar of the names of martyrs and deceased *sanctimoniales* (who counted as martyrs), as well as of deceased bishops of Carthage[2]. He also speaks of a general commemoration of the departed, without any recital of their names (*etiam tacitis nominibus eorum*)[3]. Lastly, he draws a distinction between martyrs and other deceased persons. The latter were prayed for, the former were not[4].

In the Gallican and Mozarabic rites this recital of names occurred in connexion with the Offertory and before the Preface. In the Roman rite there are two commemorations of saints within the Canon[5]. But as to the position which the recital of names occupied in the African rite in the time of Augustine we have no positive evidence. We may have a reference to some prayer for the Church used in connexion with

[1] *Retract.* ii. 11.

[2] *Serm.* 159. 1; 325. 1; *de Civit. Dei*, xxii. 10; *de s. Virginitate*, 45. For the recital of the name of Caecilian, Bp of Carthage, see *Serm.* 359 (*Sirm.* 37) 6, and the account of the Conference with the Donatists at Carthage in 411 A.D. (*Coll.* iii. 230, in Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 294). These last two references should be added to those which Mr E. Bishop gives for the African rite in Connolly's *Narsai* p. 112, n. 2.

[3] *de cura pro mort. gerenda* 4; *de An. et eius origine* ii. 15. 21.

[4] *Serm.* 159. 1.

[5] The one (*Communicantes*) precedes the *Quam oblationem*; the other (*Nobis quoque*) is towards the close of the Canon, immediately after the *Supplices te*.

the recital of names in a passage of Optatus, where, speaking of the Donatists, he says that in the mysteries 'they professed to offer for the one church spread throughout the world[1].' There is a similar prayer in the diptychs of the Mozarabic rite[2], and in the *Te igitur* of the Roman Canon[3].

For the central portion of the liturgy the evidence of Augustine is much fuller. The following passages taken collectively supply the main outlines.

(1) In *Serm. inedit.* vi. Augustine refers to the opening salutation 'the Lord be with you,' which precedes the *Sursum corda.*

(2) In one of his epistles[4], referring to St Paul's words in 1 Tim. ii. 1, he applies them to the order of the liturgy, and interprets the 'supplications' to refer to those made 'in celebrating the sacraments before we begin to bless that which is on the Lord's table.' By the 'prayers' he understands those made when the elements are blessed and consecrated and broken for distribution, 'the whole of which petition,' he adds, 'almost the whole church concludes with the Lord's Prayer.' The 'entreaties' (*interpellationes*), or 'requests' (*postulationes*), as he tells us was the reading of some African copies of the Scriptures, he refers to the benedictions of the people by the bishop

[1] *c. Donat.* ii. 12. [2] Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, p. 208 f.

[3] In *Serm.* 273. 7 Augustine asks if anyone had ever heard the priest say 'I offer to thee, holy Theognis, or I offer to thee, Peter, or I offer to thee, Paul.' If any liturgical significance can be attached to this, it perhaps finds its nearest parallel in the words *offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae* in the Roman Canon. Augustine is shewing that sacrifice is offered to God only.

[4] *Ep.* 149 (al. 59) 2. 16 (*ad Paulinum*).

with imposition of hands, while the 'giving of thanks' corresponded to the concluding thanksgiving after communion.

(3) In *Sermon* 227 we have a more detailed reference to some of the liturgical forms found in the liturgy. Augustine quotes the *Sursum corda*[1] with its response 'we lift them up unto the Lord,' followed by the words 'Let us give thanks unto our Lord God,' and the further response 'it is meet and right that we should give thanks.' He then describes how 'after the consecration of the sacrifice' the Lord's Prayer is said, followed by the salutation 'Peace be with you' and the kiss of peace.

(4) As we have seen[2], Augustine refers to the practice of singing a psalm at the Communion.

These passages suggest the following scheme for the central part of the liturgy.

1. Salutation (*dominus uobiscum*).
2. Eucharistic Preface (*Sursum corda* with response, etc.).
3. 'Consecration of the sacrifice.'
4. Fraction.
5. Lord's Prayer.
6. Salutation (*Pax uobiscum*) and kiss of peace.
7. Blessing of people with laying on of hands.
8. Communion, with communion psalm.
9. Concluding thanksgiving.

(1), (2). Augustine refers in the passages quoted above to the opening words of the Eucharistic Preface.

[1] Augustine however uses the form *Sursum cor*. See *Serm.* 227; *Serm. inedit.* 6.

[2] See p. 147.

He nowhere appears to allude to the *Sanctus*, but it is spoken of by two African writers, Victor Vitensis[1] and Vigilius of Thapsus[2] in the latter part of the fifth century, and we have seen earlier traces of it in the *Acts of Perpetua*.

(3) The prayers which Augustine tells us were said while the elements were 'blessed and consecrated and broken for distribution' correspond to the central portion of the Canon of the Mass. Augustine elsewhere speaks of the bread and the wine as consecrated 'by a mystic prayer[3]' or 'by the word of God[4].' Elsewhere[5] he speaks of the bread 'receiving the benediction of Christ.' Of the actual contents of the prayers he tells us nothing. He is silent as to any invocation of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy[6]. A passage of Optatus, however, points to the existence of an Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy in some parts of North Africa during the fourth century. Addressing the Donatists[7] he asks them 'what greater sacrilege could there be than to pull down the altars

[1] *de Persec. Vandal.* iii. 23.

[2] *de Trin.* xii (p. 319, ed. Chifflet).

[3] *de Trin.* iii. 4.

[4] *Serm.* 227.

[5] *Serm.* 234. 2.

[6] The passage in *de Trin.* iii. 4 in which Augustine speaks of the elements taken from the fruits of the earth as 'sanctified to become so great a sacrament only by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God' cannot with any security be adduced as evidence that Augustine is thinking of the operation of the Third Person of the Trinity in connexion with the Sacrament. As the context shews, *spiritus dei* is here synonymous with 'God Himself' (cf. the words *deus operetur* in the immediate context: Augustine is dealing with God's use of visible things as a means of manifesting Himself).

[7] *c. Donat.* vi. 1.

of God whereat the sins of the people and the
members of Christ were [illegible] whereby God
was invoked and the Holy Spirit came down to
consecrate the oblation, where many received the
pledge of eternal salvation, the support of faith and
the hope of resurrection.' The evidence of Polycarp
in the third century shows that at that period an
invocation of the Holy Spirit found a place in some
quarters of North Africa, for he not only speaks of
the Church as 'invoking the coming of the Holy
Spirit in the prayer of the worship' and of 'the
coming of the Holy Spirit to consecrate the sacrifice
of the body of Christ,' but he also discusses the
relevancy of such invocation, and deals with the
question why the sending of the Holy Spirit was
invoked.[1] Thus it is possible that in some parts of
North Africa an invocation of the Holy Spirit in
some form was found in the liturgy about the middle
of the fourth century, though the silence of Augustine
and the general assumption of the sacramental action
suggest that this was not the case in Africa.[2]

Augustine alludes to the Amen as the close of the Eucharistic prayer, and explains it as 'testifying the consent of the people'.

[illegible] The close connexion of the narrative of the Passion with the prayer of consecration in use in the passages quoted above suggests that it preceded the Lord's Prayer. Augustine speaks of the second prayer as made when the oblations are

[illegible]

blessed and consecrated *and broken for distribution*, and then adds that 'the whole of this petition, almost the whole church concludes with the Lord's Prayer.' This corresponds with the original practice of the Roman Church before Gregory the Great transferred the Lord's Prayer and placed it directly in connexion with the Canon and before the Fraction[1]. A phrase of Augustine[2], *audemus dicere*, used in connexion with the Lord's Prayer, has been cited as parallel with the *audemus dicere* in the Roman prologue to the Lord's Prayer.

(6) A further parallel with the Roman Canon is afforded by the position of the kiss of peace which precedes the Communion, whereas in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, as in the Eastern rites, it is placed before the Preface[3]. In Augustine's time, as in the Roman rite, it was introduced by the salutation *Pax uobiscum*[4], to which the response was made *et cum spiritu tuo*[5].

(7) Augustine, in another of the passages quoted above[6], refers to the benediction of the people with laying on of hands. In three passages[7] he alludes to

[1] Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, p. 184. [2] *Serm.* 110. 5.

[3] In the Ambrosian rite there is an invitation by the deacon *Pacem habete* before the prayer *super sindonem*, which Duchesne (*op. cit.* 212 f.) thinks is a vestige of the custom of giving the Pax before the Preface.

[4] *Serm.* 227.

[5] *Enarr. in Ps.* 124. 10. In the *Acts of Perpetua* (c. 12) there is an account of a Christian gathering in which the kiss of peace is given and Perpetua responds *Deo gratias*.

[6] *Ep.* 149. 2. 16.

[7] *Ep.* 179. 4; 175. 5; and the fragment of a sermon in Migne, *P.L.* xxxix. 1721.

forms of blessing employed by him on such occasions. In two of these the phrase *corroborari per spiritum tuum* (or *eius*) is found, but in other respects his language is either a free paraphrase, or suggests that the forms had not attained a fixed character. This benediction before communion is not found in the Roman rite, but the Ambrosian[1], Gallican, and Mozarabic rites shew that it acquired a position in the liturgies of Milan, Gaul, and Spain[2].

Optatus has also been thought to allude to this benediction, but an examination of the passage referred to[3] suggests that he is really thinking of something different. In dealing with the Donatists' claim that they constituted a 'pure church' he refers to their own rites as witnessing against the claim to be free from sin. In so doing he alludes to their treatment of those whom they won over from the Catholics. To such converts they promise forgiveness of sins (including in these cases the sin of schism), and when they have laid hands upon them and forgiven their offences, they turn to the altar and recite the Lord's Prayer in which occur the words 'Forgive us our debts.' From this it appears that the imposition of hands referred to is connected with the rite of the reception of converts, which was followed by their admission to communion. It cannot be adduced as evidence of the benediction of all the people before communion[4].

[1] For the Ambrosian rite see Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, p. 223 f.; Cabrol, *DACL.* I. 1419.

[2] See further ch. viii.

[3] *c. Donat.* ii. 20.

[4] Cf. Palmer, *Origines*, I. 139.

(8) A constant phrase employed by Augustine in connexion with Communion is *accedere ad mensam*. This may have been a stereotyped expression, which has influenced the later Sacramentaries and given rise to the term *ad Accedentes* by which the prayers at communion are known[1]. In one of the passages already cited Augustine refers to the Communion chant taken from the Psalms. Probably it was Psalm xxxiv, as at Jerusalem and in Syria, for Augustine connects the words *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini*, found in the Vulgate version of that Psalm, with the reception of the Sacrament[2]. With regard to the formula of administration Augustine in one of his sermons[3] says 'You hear the words "the body of Christ," and you answer, Amen.' It is possible however that this is an abbreviation of the longer form found in another sermon[4], 'receive and eat the body of Christ,' 'receive and drink the blood of Christ.' The former of the two quotations just given illustrates the response of the people on reception, of which we have already found traces in Tertullian.

(9) The communion was followed by a thanksgiving, known later on in the West as *post communionem* or *ad complendum*.

The above review shews that a certain well-defined type of liturgy had been developed in North Africa by the close of the fourth or early in the fifth century. The general order of service, the versicles of the

[1] Cabrol, *DACL.* I. 637.

[2] *En.* 2 *in Ps.* xxxiii. 10. The communion anthem in the Mozarabic rite is taken from the same Psalm.

[3] *Serm.* 272. [4] *Serm.* 3 (*P.L.* xlvi. 827).

priest and other shorter formulae, lastly the framework of some of the prayers had already attained a certain fixity of character. On the other hand Augustine supplies us with little evidence for any of the longer formulae or prayers. There is evidence to shew that the Western practice of variable mass-formulae was current in the African Church, and that the free composition of fresh liturgical forms needed to be checked by Church authority. Thus the Third Council of Carthage (can. 23) enacts that all prayers at the altar are to be directed to the Father, and that 'whatever prayers anyone had written for himself or derived from other sources should not be used by him till he had referred them to his more learned brethren.' Similarly the first Council of Milevis (402 A.D.) enacts that only such prayers should be used by all as had been approved in synod[1].

We may now briefly summarise the points of contact between the North African rite, so far as it may be reconstructed from the evidence given above, and the rites of Rome and other Western Churches. The most striking feature which it has in common with the Roman rite is the position of the kiss of peace before Communion, instead of, as in other Western rites and in the East, in connexion with the

[1] Can. 12, ut preces uel orationes seu missae, quae probatae fuerint in concilio, siue praefationes, siue commendationes seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Of the terms employed *missa* is used in the later Western Sacramentaries to denote the variable collects, etc. proper to any day; *praefatio* is apparently the Eucharistic preface; the *commendationes seu manus impositiones* are probably the episcopal benedictions.

Offertory. This divergence of usage in the West is attested for Italy by the letter of Pope Innocent to Decentius early in the fifth century. The versicle and response (*Pax uobiscum*, etc.) which preceded the kiss of peace also accord with Roman usage. Again, the description of the prayers of the faithful given by Augustine suggests a scheme resembling that of the ancient *preces solemnes* in the Roman Good Friday service.

On the other hand there are two features mentioned by some African writers which find no parallel in the Roman rite, though they are found in the rites of other Western Churches. The benediction of the people before Communion is first referred to by Augustine, for, as we have seen[1], the only passage adduced as evidence for it from the writings of Optatus does not support the interpretation placed on it. The other feature is the Invocation of the Holy Spirit which appears to be attested by Optatus in the fourth century and is referred to by Fulgentius in the sixth century. On the other hand Augustine is silent as to any such Invocation. In view of these facts and of the absence of both the features mentioned from the Roman rite it may be suggested that both the benediction of the people and the Invocation of the Holy Spirit were practices introduced during the fourth century, and that the latter (the Invocation of the Holy Spirit) had not succeeded in establishing itself at Hippo in the time of Augustine[2].

With regard to another feature which the African

[1] See p. 153.

[2] See further on this subject ch. viii.

rite has in common with other Western rites, the frequent use of lessons from the Old Testament in addition to the Epistle and Gospel, it may be noted that this appears to have been the early custom at Rome, though it disappeared probably some time in the fifth century[1].

The general style of the prayers which Augustine quotes (*e.g.* the biddings after the sermon, and the forms of benediction) resembles in character the more flowing language of the Spanish and Gallican prayers rather than the Roman type. This is what we should expect from the temperament of these peoples as contrasted with the greater restraint of the Roman character.

We have already noticed the occurrence of some primitive formulae in early African writers (Tertullian, *Acts of Perpetua*), such as the Greek form of the *Sanctus* and of the concluding words of the Canon, also the response to the kiss of peace, *Deo gratias*[2]. But it would be precarious to deduce, as is sometimes done, from the Greek character of some of these formulae the influence upon the early African Church of the Greek-speaking Church of Rome[3]. Lastly we may notice Augustine's use of certain phrases in connexion with the bishop's prayer and bidding (*i.e. deprecari* and (*dominum*) *deprecemur...dignetur*) which appear to be already acquiring a stereotyped

[1] Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, p. 167.

[2] See pp. 138, 140 f., 152 n. 5.

[3] See *e.g.* the discussion by Lejay in *Mélanges Godefroid Kierth* (Liége, 1908), pp. 41—47.

character, and which find a place in later Western formularies[1].

Further than this it is precarious to go. In discussing the relations of the African rite with other non-Roman Western rites (*e.g.* the Mozarabic)[2] it must be borne in mind that the latter have come down to us overlaid with many later elements introduced at a period when Eastern influences had made their way into the West and had largely affected the original character of the various local rites. It is possible that the North African rite in the fourth century was already subject to some extent to this influence. The presence of this element renders the task of attempting to determine the original form of these rites one of great complexity.

[1] See p. 146.

[2] See *e.g.* the article in *J. Th. St.* xiii. 250 f. on 'The African rite' by W. C. Bishop.

CHAPTER VII

THE LITURGY IN NORTH ITALY AND AT ROME

The two most important documents for the history of the liturgy during our period in North Italy and Rome are the treatise *de Sacramentis* and the letter of Pope Innocent I. to Decentius. The former supplies the only extant Italian liturgical forms belonging to this period. The latter throws light upon the divergent usages current in Italy. For North Italy we have in addition the writings of Ambrose, bishop of Milan (†397 A.D.), which supply us with little information beyond the mere outlines of the liturgy and a few details. The writings of Jerome supply incidental references to particular details, and there are other fragmentary notices in various Western writers. But the evidence as a whole is singularly meagre, and the problems connected with the history of the early Roman liturgy are some of the most debated questions at the present time.

I. North Italy.

The writings of Ambrose shew that the liturgy was already known by the title of *missa*[1], a word which, as we have seen[2], is also employed in this sense in the *Peregrinatio* of Etheria. It appears to have been celebrated daily[3], and began with the preparatory service of lessons and psalms, followed by a sermon and the dismissal of the catechumens. The lessons were three in number, and were taken from the Old Testament, the Epistles, and the Gospels[4]. Between the lessons psalms were sung[5]. In the reading of the Gospel the name of Jesus appears to have been preceded by the title, 'Lord,' a characteristic found in the Gallican rite and still preserved at Milan[6]. Sermons were preached almost daily[7], and Ambrose, we are told by Augustine, preached every Lord's Day[8]. In one of his epistles[9] Ambrose describes how after the lessons and sermon, when the catechumens had been dismissed, he instructed some candidates for baptism (*competentes*) in the Creed, and then began Mass. This passage

[1] *Ep.* xx. 4. 5 ego tamen mansi in munere; missam facere coepi. Dum offero...cognoui.

[2] See p. 82.

[3] Ambrose, *Ep.* xx. 15.

[4] *In Ps.* cxviii. 17. 10 prius propheta legitur, et apostolus, et sic euangelium. 'Propheta' denotes the Old Testament generally.

[5] *Ep.* xxii. 4. 7. Ambrose uses, however, the word *legere*, as does Augustine in a similar connexion. See p. 144.

[6] *Ep.* xli. 5 rogauit quidam pharisaeus dominum Iesum: *Ep.* lxxx. 1 praeteriens dominus Iesus uidit.

[7] *c. Auxent.* 26; *Ep.* lxiii. 10.

[8] Augustine, *Conf.* vi. 3. 4.

[9] *Ep.* xx. 4.

illustrates the distinction between the two parts of the service, of which we have evidence from North Africa and elsewhere. From the language of Ambrose in his letter to Theodosius and from other indications it has been inferred that while penitents were excluded from communion, they were allowed to be present at Mass throughout[1].

Of the prayers of the faithful we have no particulars, beyond the fact that Ambrose in his letter to Gratian[2] speaks of prayer for the Emperor as dictated not only by public duty but private affection. Possibly there may be here an allusion to the prayers offered for the Emperor in the Mass. With regard to the people's offering, Ambrose in one passage speaks of the baptized as permitted to offer their gifts at the altar[3]. Elsewhere in his writings there is a possible reference to the *Sanctus*, though Ambrose is not specially speaking of the Liturgy[4].

In the treatise *de Mysteriis*, the authenticity of which has been disputed by some scholars[5], Ambrose treats at length of the Eucharist, and in proof of the reality of the gift vouchsafed in the Sacrament he appeals to the words of Christ 'This is my body,' 'this is my blood.' It is evident from his language that the recital of these words had acquired a fixed

[1] *Ep.* li. 13, 15; *Vita Ambrosii*, 24 (*P.L.* xiv. 35). See Cabrol, *DACL.* art. 'Ambrosien rit' (i. 1404).

[2] *Ep.* i. 2. [3] *in Ps.* cxviii. prol. 2.

[4] *de Spir. s.* iii. 16. 110. Note '*indefessis uocibus* laudant,' and cf. the Eastern ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι and the *incessabili uoce* of the *Te Deum*.

[5] Loofs, *PRE.*[3] art. 'Abendmahl II,' p. 61.

place in the liturgy in his time, and that he regarded them as playing an important part in the consecration of the Sacrament. Sometimes indeed his language does not go beyond that of Eastern writers who see in the words of institution the historical warrant and authority for the Sacrament[1], as when he speaks of the word of Christ as 'sanctifying (*sanctificat*) the sacrifice which is offered[2].' But elsewhere his language goes beyond this, and implies that this word of Christ as often as it is pronounced in the Eucharist effects the change of the elements into the body and blood of Christ. In this connexion he says: 'if the blessing of a man had so great power that it could change nature, what are we to say of the consecration of God, wherein the very words of the Lord and Saviour have their operation? For that sacrament which you receive is consecrated (*conficitur*) by the word of Christ[3].' 'The Lord Jesus himself proclaims "This is my body." Before the blessing of the heavenly words another nature (*species*)[4] is named, after the consecration the body is indicated. He himself speaks of his blood. Before the consecration it is called something else, after consecration it is named blood[5].' This association of the words of institution with the consecration is still more clearly emphasized by the author of the *de Sacramentis*[6], and finds increasing

[1] See ch. ix.

[2] *in Ps.* xxxviii. 25.

[3] *de Myst.* ix. 52. On *conficere* see p. 177, n. 3.

[4] *Species* is the special character by which one kind of thing is differentiated from another.

[5] *de Myst.* ix. 54.

[6] See p. 165.

expression in later Western writers (*e.g.* Caesarius of Arles) before the eleventh century.

Elsewhere Ambrose speaks more generally of the consecration as effected 'by the mystery of the sacred prayer[1].' In one passage[2] he has been thought to refer to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy, when he speaks of Him as 'named with the Father and the Son by priests in baptism, and *invoked in the offerings* (*in oblationibus*), and with the Father and the Son proclaimed by the Seraphim in heaven.' But Ambrose makes no express reference to Milan in the passage, and, as we have seen, his treatment of the consecratory force of the words of Christ in the Eucharist moves in a different plane from that of Eastern writers like Cyril and Chrysostom, and shews no reference to the operation of the Holy Spirit. This fact renders caution necessary in drawing any conclusion as to the character of the Invocation in the liturgy at Milan in the time of Ambrose.

Of the prayers which form the central part of the liturgy Ambrose tells us nothing. In dwelling upon the commemorative aspect of the rite he says: 'as often as we receive the sacraments, which by the mystery of the sacred prayer are transformed into flesh and blood, *we proclaim the Lord's death*[3].' But beyond the parallel contained in these last words with the formula which concluded the recitation of the institution in many Eastern and Western rites,

[1] *de Fide* iv. 10. 124.
[2] *de Spir. s.* iii. 16. 112.
[3] *de Fide* iv. 10. 124.

there is nothing which points to any liturgical reference in his language.

At the close of the consecration, the people responded, Amen[1]. There is apparently no reference in Ambrose to the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy, but he speaks of the kiss of peace[2], though his language does not enable us to say at what part of the service it was given. There may be a reference to a benediction of the people in the liturgy in a passage where he speaks of the people responding Amen to the blessing of the priest, and so confirming for themselves the blessing which he asks of God for them[3]. In another passage[4] there is a possible reference to a post-communion prayer and a communion chant taken from Psalm xxiii.

Ambrose refers to the offering of the Eucharist for the departed[5], and to the practice of keeping the Sacrament in private and even to the carrying of it on journeys[6].

A second source of evidence for the liturgy of North Italy is supplied by the unknown author of the work *de Sacramentis* which is printed among the works of St Ambrose. This work is now generally assigned to a date about the beginning of the fifth

[1] *de Myst.* ix. 54. [2] *Ep.* xli. 14. 15.

[3] *in Ps.* xl. 36. For a relic of the benediction in the Ambrosian rite see Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, 223 f.; Cabrol, *DACL.* i. 1419 ('Ambrosien rit').

[4] *de Elia* x. 34 merito dicunt singuli refecti spiritali cibo et spiritali potu: Parasti in conspectu meo mensam, et poculum tuum inebrians quam praeclarum.

[5] *de Excess. Satyri* i. 80; *de Obit. Valent.* 56; *Ep.* xxxix. 4.

[6] *de Excess. Satyri* i. 43.

century[1]. The author makes considerable use of the *de Mysteriis* of Ambrose, and it has been suggested by Probst and Dom Morin that the book may have been compiled from notes taken by those who had heard the addresses of Ambrose to the newly-baptized[2]. Duchesne thinks that it was composed in some church in North Italy, where the usages of Rome and Milan were combined, possibly at Ravenna[3].

Like Ambrose, the writer in commenting on the Eucharist appeals to the words of Christ as the power by which the elements are changed. It is in virtue of the consecration that the bread becomes the Body of Christ. If we ask by what words the consecration is effected, the answer is, the words of Christ. 'For everything else which is said before is spoken by the priest; praises are offered to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, for others; when the time comes for consecrating (*conficiatur*) the venerable sacrament, the priest no longer uses his own words, but he uses the words of Christ. So then the word of Christ consecrates (*conficit*) this sacrament[4].'

In this passage we may notice the passing reference to the portions of the liturgy which preceded the consecration. In the references to the praises offered to God followed by prayer for various estates of men Probst[5] finds an indication that the order

[1] See Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, p. 177.

[2] Probst, *Lit. des viert. Jahrh.* p. 239; G. Morin, *Revue bénédictine* (1894) xi. 343 f.

[3] *op. cit.* p. 177.

[4] *de Sacram.* iv. 4. 14. On the word *conficere* see p. 177, n. 3.

[5] *op. cit.* p. 249.

of the Canon, as known to the author of the *de Sacramentis*, corresponded with the present order in the Roman Canon, where the intercessions are inserted after the *Sanctus* and before the recital of the words of institution. This order, so far as the intercessions are concerned, receives attestation from the letter of Pope Innocent to Decentius, written some few years after the *de Sacramentis*. But it is possible that the writer is not giving the exact order of the prayers, and the intercessions may be those connected with the prayers of the faithful[1].

But the chief importance of the *de Sacramentis* consists in the quotations which it gives from the prayers of the Canon as they were known to the writer. The prayers are here given in full, with the parallel portions of the Roman Canon as found in the Gelasian Sacramentary[2], the more important parts peculiar to each being marked in italics. The corresponding features of the Ambrosian Sacramentary of Biasca (cent. x.) are given in the footnotes.

DE SACRAMENTIS (iv. 5. 21–23; 26, 27)	ROMAN CANON (Wilson, *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 235)
§ 21. Fac *nobis hanc* oblationem adscriptam, ratam[3], rationabilem, acceptabilem: *quod figura est*	*Quam* oblationem *tu, deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam*, adscrip-

[1] Cf. Lejay, in Cabrol *DACL.* (art. 'Ambrosien rit') i. 1415, n. 5.

[2] Mr E. Bishop (*J. Th. St.* iv. 568 f.) has shewn that the text of the *Gelasianum* in MS. Vat. Regin. 316 (cent. vii.—viii.) is really 'Gregorian.' For our present purpose, however, the text quoted above, apart from minute details, may be regarded as substantially that of the Roman Canon in the sixth century.

[3] The St Gall MS. (cent. vii.) omits *ratam*, but several MSS.

DE SACRAMENTIS	ROMAN CANON
corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi.	tam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere *digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui* domini *dei* nostri Iesu Christi.
Qui pridie quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in caelum ad te, *sancte* pater omnipotens *aeterne* deus, gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, fractumque *apostolis suis et* discipulis suis *tradidit*, dicens, Accipite et edite ex hoc omnes ; hoc est enim corpus meum, *quod pro multis confringetur.*	Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas *ac uenerabiles* manus suas[1], eleuatis oculis in caelum ad te deum patrem *suum* omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, *dedit* discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum. Simili modo, posteaquam coenatum est, accipiens et *hunc praeclarum*[2] calicem *in sanctas ac uenerabiles manus suas item tibi* gratias agens, benedixit, *dedit*[3] discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes : hic est enim *calix sanguinis mei noui et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro uobis et*
§ 22. Similiter etiam calicem postquam coenatum est, *pridie quam pateretur*, accepit, *respexit in caelum ad te, sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus*, gratias agens, benedixit, *apostolis suis et* discipulis suis *tradidit*, dicens, Accipite et	

contain it, and Funk (*Kirchengesch. Abhandl.* iii. 98) argues that it may easily have fallen out before *rationabilem*.

[1] Sacr. of Biasca omits *in...manus suas*.

[2] Sacr. of Biasca omits *hunc praeclarum* and the following *in... manus suas*, but repeats *eleuauit oculos* etc. as above.

[3] Sacr. of Biasca has *tradidit* here and *dedit* above, shewing partial assimilation to the Roman Canon.

DE SACRAMENTIS

bibite ex hoc omnes: hic est enim *sanguis meus.*

§ 26. Quotiescunque hoc feceritis, *toties commemorationem* mei facietis, *donec iterum adueniam.*

§ 27. Ergo memores *gloriosissimae* eius passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis, et in caelum ascensionis, offerimus *tibi hanc* immaculatam hostiam, *rationabilem* hostiam, *incruentam* hostiam, *hunc*[2] panem sanctum et calicem uitae aeternae: *et petimus et precamur, ut hanc oblationem suscipias* in sublimi altari tuo per manus *angelorum tuorum,* sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.

ROMAN CANON

pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.

Haec quotiescunque feceritis, *in* mei *memoriam* facietis[1].

Unde et memores *sumus, domine, nos tui serui, sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi filii tui domini dei nostri tam beatae* passionis *necnon* et ab inferis resurrectionis, *sed* et in caelis *gloriosae* ascensionis: offerimus *praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis* hostiam *puram,* hostiam *sanctam,* hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum uitae aeternae et calicem *salutis perpetuae. Supra quae propitio ac sereno uultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere,* sicuti *accepta habere* dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos *tuus* Melchisedech, *sanctum*

[1] Sacr. of Biasca has *in meam commemorationem facietis,* and adds *mortem meam praedicabitis, resurrectionem meam adnuntiabitis, aduentum meum sperabitis, donec iterum de caelis ueniam ad uos.* The addition is also found in the Stowe Missal.

[2] The Sacr. of Biasca also has *hunc* before *panem.* Otherwise it follows with a few variations the Roman Canon.

DE SACRAMENTIS	ROMAN CANON
	sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam. Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens deus, iube haec perferri per manus *angeli tui* in sublime altare tuum *in conspectu diuinae maiestatis tuae, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.*

A comparison of the structure of these two sets of prayers exhibits a general correspondence in order as far as the close of the *Unde et memores* of the Roman forms. We find also in the *de Sacramentis* much of the contents of the *Supra quae* and the *Supplices te*, which are, however, embodied in a single prayer, with some difference of order from the Roman forms, the reference to the reception of the gifts on the heavenly altar preceding the allusion to the gifts of Abel and the sacrifices of Abraham and Melchizedek. Lastly, we may notice the characteristic Western introduction of the recital of the Institution, *Qui pridie quam pateretur*, which differs from the Eastern form and from the Mozarabic, these latter following St Paul's words (1 Cor. xi. 23) ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετο[1].

[1] Dom Cagin, however, appeals to the title invariably given in the Mozarabic and Gallican rites to the prayer which follows the

With regard to the language of these prayers, while there are many exact parallels with the language of the 'Gelasian' Canon, there are also divergences, many of which however find parallels in other Western or Eastern liturgical forms. We may notice the following:

(1) The most striking divergence from the 'Gelasian' Canon is in the prayer corresponding to the *Quam oblationem* of the latter. In place of the words *ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat* we find *quod figura est corporis et sanguinis.* The nearest parallel to this in existing liturgies is found in the words which introduce the Invocation in St Basil[1], 'offering the types (*τὰ ἀντίτυπα*) of the holy body and blood of thy Christ.' But the words find an earlier parallel in the language of Tertullian, and are in accord with the character of much early Eucharistic terminology in the West[2]. A similar vagueness in Eucharistic terminology appears in the phrase 'holy bread and cup of eternal life,' which is reproduced substantially in the corresponding portion of the 'Gelasian' Canon.

(2) In the account of the Institution there are many divergences from the 'Gelasian' Canon which in nearly every case may be paralleled either from the Ambrosian Sacramentary of Biasca or from Greek rites[3].

recital of the Institution (*Oratio post pridie*) in support of the idea that these rites also originally had the form *Qui pridie*. See *Paléographie musicale*, v. 55 f. See further ch. viii.

[1] *LEW.* 329. 23—25.

[2] Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iii. 19, and for Rome see Batiffol, *Études* ii. 306 f.

[3] Note especially: (1) *apostolis suis et*, found in Mk, Syr.-James, Bas., Chrys. (2) *pro multis confringetur.* James, Mk, Bas.

(3) The phrase 'unbloody offering' (*incruentam hostiam*) in the prayer *Ergo memores* is a common phrase in early Greek fathers. It is also found in Sarapion, in the liturgies of St James, St Basil, St Chrysostom, and in some Gallican forms.

(4) The absence from the *de Sacramentis* of the words *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam* in the *Supra quae* of the 'Gelasian' Canon may be explained by the statement of the *Liber pontificalis*[1] that these words were an addition to the Canon made by Pope Leo.

(5) The words *angelorum tuorum* are found in place of the *angeli tui* of the 'Gelasian' Canon in the *Supplices te*. This again finds a parallel in the intercession of St Mark. 'Receive, O God, the offerings...unto thy holy and heavenly and spiritual altar ...through the ministry of thy archangels' (διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας), where the Coptic has 'thine holy angels and archangels[2].'

The conclusion which this review suggests is that the characteristic features of the prayers in the *de Sacramentis*, where they diverge from the 'Gelasian'

have κλώμενον; *A.C.* θρυπτόμενον. For a 'Gallican' example see *DACL.* i. 2. 1881 f. (3) The omission of *hunc praeclarum* before *calicem*, and of *in...manus suas* in the institution of the cup, the repetition in the same passage of *respexit in caelum...omnipotens*, the use of *tradidit* for *dedit* in the same connexion, lastly the addition of *hunc* before *panem* in the prayer *Ergo memores*, all find parallels in the Ambrosian Sacramentary of Biasca. (4) The attribution to Christ of the words of 1 Cor. xi. 26 in the form *donec iterum ueniam* finds a parallel in *A.C.*, Syr.-James, Mk, Copt. It is also found in Maximus of Turin (*c.* 450 A.D.). See *P.L.* lvii. 690.

[1] Ed. Duchesne, p. 239.

[2] *LEW.* 129. 20 f.; 171. 2 f.

Canon, are not due to the work of a compiler, but represent genuine liturgical forms. Duchesne[1] thinks that the *de Sacramentis* comes from some North Italian Church, where the Roman use was combined with that of Milan. But the prayers may represent an older form of the Roman Canon itself. In this connexion it may be noted that the writer asserts his reverence for the practice of the Roman Church 'whose pattern and form we follow in all things[2].'

In conclusion we may note that these prayers are characterized by the primitive character of their eucharistic terminology alike as to the Eucharistic gift and to the sacrifice. The phrases 'figure of the body and blood,' 'holy bread and cup of eternal life,' illustrate the former. The phrase 'reasonable offering' and the reference to the gifts of Abel, and to the sacrifices of Abraham and Melchizedek, illustrate the latter, and shew that in these prayers the conception of the sacrifice is primarily eucharistic.

In his exposition of the Lord's Prayer the author of the *de Sacramentis* refers to a doxology recited by the priest after the words *Libera nos a malo*[3]. This doxology corresponds to that found at the end of the Lord's Prayer in the Greek rites (James, Mk, Bas., Chrys.). A similar doxology is found at the close of the Canon and before the Lord's Prayer in the Ambrosian Sacramentary of Biasca and in the Roman Canon. The parallel forms are as follows:

[1] *Chr. Worship*, p. 177.
[2] *de Sacram.* iii. 1. 5.
[3] *de Sacram.* vi. 5. 24.

St Mark. *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

St James, St Basil, St Chrysostom. *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

de Sacramentis. Per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum in quo tibi est, cum quo tibi est honor, laus, gloria, magnificentia, potestas cum spiritu sancto a saeculis et nunc et semper et in omnia saecula saeculorum.

Sacramentary of Biasca. Et est tibi deo patri omnipotenti ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso omnis honor, uirtus, laus, gloria, imperium, perpetuitas et potestas in unitate spiritus sancti per infinita saecula saeculorum.

'Gelasian' Canon. Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi deo patri omnipotenti in unitate spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria per omnia saecula saeculorum.

In view of the presence of this doxology at the close of the Lord's Prayer in the *de Sacramentis* it has been suggested[1] that in North Italy it came originally, not at the close of the Canon, as in the Sacramentary of Biasca and the 'Gelasian' Canon, but as in the Eastern rites after the Lord's Prayer, and that there has been a later transference of it to its present position in the case of the Sacramentary of Biasca. The parallels between the Western and the Greek forms provide another illustration of the

[1] See Lejay, in *DACL.* ('Ambrosien rit') i. 1. 1418.

relationship between Eastern and Western formulae, of which we have had examples earlier in this chapter.

In another passage the author of the *de Sacramentis* gives the words of administration of the consecrated bread in the form *Corpus Christi*, and adds that the communicant responded, Amen[1].

Of other parts of the liturgy the writer tells us scarcely anything. In his references to passages of the Gospels he seems to be influenced, like Ambrose, by the custom of prefacing the name of Jesus with the title 'Lord' (*dominus*) at the reading of the Gospel[2]. He also alludes to the lessons from the Epistles and the Gospels[3].

II. Rome.

When we pass from the liturgy of the North Italian churches to that of Rome we are confronted with the difficulty that during the period covered in this volume there is an almost complete absence of Roman documents which can throw any light upon its history.

The early church at Rome was mainly Greek in character. The earliest pieces of Christian literature proceeding from it are Greek, and the names of its earliest bishops before the time of Victor are mainly Greek. The description which Justin, writing from Rome in the middle of the second century, gives of

[1] iv. 5. 25.

[2] See i. 1. 2; ii. 2. 6, 4. 1; v. 1. 4, 4. 18.

[3] ii. 2. 3 quid lectum est heri? (Jn v. 4 f.); iii. 1. 4 audisti lectionem (Jn xiii. 4 f.); ii. 7. 23 clamat ergo apostolus, sicut audistis in lectione praesenti (Rom. vi. 3).

the Sunday Eucharist corresponds, as we have seen, in its general scheme with that of the Apostolic Constitutions and other Eastern forms (*e.g.* in the place of the kiss of peace). But between the period of Justin and the latter part of the fourth century we have practically no sources of information which enable us to trace the growth of the Roman liturgy. Eusebius[1] quotes from a letter of Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch a story about Novatian to the effect that 'when he had made the offerings and distributed a part to each man, as he gives it, he compels the wretched man to swear in place of the blessing[2] Holding his hands in both his own, he will not release him until he has sworn in this manner... "Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that you will never forsake me and turn to Cornelius." And the unhappy man does not taste until he has called down imprecations on himself; and instead of saying, Amen, as he takes the bread, he says, "I will never return to Cornelius."' The phrase 'made the offerings' (*ποιήσας τὰς προσφοράς*) recalls the language of Clement's *Epistle to the Corinthians*, in which he speaks of 'offering the gifts pertaining to the office of the *episcopus*[3].' What is meant by the 'blessing' at the time of communion it is more difficult to say. It was apparently spoken at the actual time of administration, and may be simply the formula with which the consecrated elements were delivered to the communicants[4]. We

[1] *H. E.* vi. 43. [2] *ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν.* [3] c. 44.
[4] Probst (*Lit. der drei erst. Jahrh.* p. 357 f.) compares the words

may notice also the Amen with which the communicants respond at reception.

Marius Victorinus, who was converted about 361 A.D. and practised as a rhetorician at Rome, quotes a Greek 'prayer of oblation' in which the words of Titus ii. 14 'a people for his own possession, zealous of good works' are introduced[1]. But whether he is referring to the use of such a prayer at Rome or elsewhere his words do not enable us to say.

It is not till the latter part of the fourth century that we get further information about the liturgy at Rome. The references of Jerome are scanty and fragmentary. He mentions the reading of the Gospel by the deacon[2], and in two passages[3] he alludes to the public recitation by the deacon of the names of the offerers in the form 'He offers so much,' 'he has promised so much.' In this connexion he condemns the love of ostentation which prompts some of the richer members, who have made their money

of administration in the Roman rite 'corpus domini custodiat animam.' There is a similar expansion (in the form of a blessing) of the words of administration in the Gnostic Acts of John (c. 110, ed. Bonnet), and of Thomas (cc. 29, 50 (47), 158, ed. Bonnet).

[1] *adv. Arian.* i. 30 sicuti in oblatione dicitur: munda tibi populum circumuitalem, aemulatorem bonorum operum, circa tuam substantiam uenientem; cp. *ibid.* ii. 8 hinc oratio oblationis intellectu eodem precatur deum, σῶσον περιούσιον λαὸν ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων. For the phrase σῶσον λαόν cf. *A. C.* ii. 57 (*LEW.* 30. 29); for λαὸν ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων cf. Lit. of Adai and Mari (*LEW.* 264. 4 f.); for λαὸν περιούσιον cf. St Basil (*LEW.* 326. 26 f.).

[2] *Ep.* cxlvii. (*ad Sabinianum*) 6.

[3] *Comm. in Ierem.* ii. 11; *in Ezech.* vi. 18 (*P.L.* xxiv. 755; xxv. 175).

by extortion, in giving their gifts. That he is referring to the recitation of names in the liturgy seems probable from the use of the term *offerre*, but he seems mainly to have gifts of money in mind, and he does not tell us whether the custom was practised at Rome or elsewhere. That offerings were made and that the names of offerers were recited at the altar at the time of offering before this period in the West is shewn by the Canons of the Council of Elvira in Spain (305 or 306 A.D.), in which (cc. 28, 29) it is enjoined that bishops should not receive a gift from him who does not communicate, and that the names of energumens should not be recited at the altar along with their oblation (*cum oblatione*). The offerings referred to in these Canons were undoubtedly the offerings from which the bread and wine for the Eucharist were taken[1]. These references will receive illustration, so far as Rome is concerned, from the letter of Innocent to Decentius, which will be dealt with later on. Elsewhere[2] Jerome refers to the *Sanctus*, and to the prayers of the priest at which 'the body and the blood of Christ is consecrated' (*conficitur*)[3]. In another passage, speaking of bishops,

[1] See E. Bishop in Connolly's *Narsai*, pp. 98 ff.

[2] *Ep.* lxxviii. (*ad Fabiolam*) 2.

[3] *Ep.* cxlvi. (*ad Euangelum*) 1. On the word *conficere* used here it may be noted that (1) the word is used in class. Latin in the general sense of 'celebrating' sacred rites. Cf. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 58 sacra Orphica...confici. With this we may compare Hilary, *in Mt* xxx. 2 pascha accepto calice et fracto pane conficitur; Jerome, *Ep.* li. 1 qui sibi domini sacramenta conficerent; (2) in reference to the Eucharist it is used by Latin fathers of the fourth century in a sense equivalent to *consecrare*. Cf. Hilary, *Op. Hist. fragm.* 3. 9 sacrificium a sanctis...sacerdotibus confectum...canibus

he says that 'they give baptism, and *at the Eucharist pray for the advent of the Lord*[1],' which appears to be a reference to some form of invocation (not, however, a prayer for the Holy Spirit). Jerome refers to the use of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy and introduces it in words suggestive of the prologue to the Lord's Prayer in the Roman Canon[2]. In another passage[3] there is an allusion to the kiss of peace, of which he says, speaking of the need of love and charity, 'does anyone, when his hand is held out, turn away his face,

proiciendum iubebat (he has previously said of a similar incident, *consecratum* domini corpus ad sacerdotum colla suspensum...profanabat). This appears to be the sense in the above passage of Jerome, for which cf. *Ep.* xiv. 8 Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt, and the parallel words in *Ep.* lxiv. 5. The same sense appears in Ambrose, *de Myst.* ix. 52 (quoted p. 162) sacramentum istud quod accipis Christi sermone conficitur, and probably *ibid.* ix. 53 hoc quod conficimus corpus ex uirgine est. See also *de Sacram.* iv. 4. 14 ubi uenitur ut conficiatur...sacramentum...ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. In this last sentence, however, as in the last of the passages cited from Ambrose, it is possible to see how easy the transition would be from the idea of *consecrare* to a sense approaching that of *efficere*, which is found in *de Sacram.* iv. 5. 23 sanguis Christi efficitur. This use of *conficere* must not be confused with the use of ποιεῖν in the Invocation found in Cyril of Jerusalem and Lit. of St Basil. The latter word is used of the operation of the Holy Spirit, while in the passages cited above *conficere* is used of the celebrant. For other examples of the use of *conficere* in the sense of *consecrare* cf. Siricius, *Ep.* x. (*ad Gallos*) 5 per quorum manus et gratia baptismatis traditur et corpus Christi conficitur; Augustine, *Serm.* lxxi. 11. 17 ipsum manibus eius confectum sacramentum carnis et sanguinis eius, compared with *Serm.* cxii. 4 coenam manibus suis consecratam.

[1] *Comm. in Sophon.* iii. (*P. L.* xxv. 1377).

[2] *c. Pelag.* iii. 15 sic docuit apostolos suos, ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificio credentes *audeant loqui* Pater noster. Cf. the *audemus dicere* of the Roman Canon.

[3] *Ep.* lxxxii. (*ad Theophil.*) 3.

and in the midst of the sacred feast proffer the kiss of Judas?' This seems to point to the fact that the kiss of peace occupied the place which it still occupies in the Roman Canon, before communion, as was the case some years later in the time of Pope Innocent at Rome, and in the time of Augustine in North Africa. In the same passage Jerome refers to the Amen said by the communicant at the administration.

In the *Breviarium in psalmos* attributed to Jerome there appears to be a reminiscence of words found in the *Nobis quoque* of the Roman Canon[1]. But the work is not a genuine work of Jerome, though it is probably ancient.

The author of the work *Quaestiones ueteris et noui Testamenti* (attributed to St Augustine, but now ascribed to Isaac of Rome)[2] appears to have been a contemporary of Pope Damasus. In dealing with the priesthood of Melchizedek, whom he identifies with the Holy Spirit, he refers to the presence of the words *summus sacerdos* in the liturgy[3]. This points to the presence of the words about the sacrifice of Melchizedek in the Roman Canon in the latter part of the fourth century, much as they are found to-day in the prayer *Supra quae.*

[1] *in Ps.* lxxii. 27 in quorum nos consortium non meritorum inspector, sed ueniae largitor admittat Christus dominus. Cf. the Roman Canon 'intra quorum nos consortium non aestimator meriti, sed ueniae, quaesumus, largitor admitte.'

[2] See Dom Morin, *Revue d'histoire et de litt.* (1899) iv. 97 ff.; Souter, *Ambrosiaster* (Cambridge Texts and Studies, vii. 4), pp. 161 f.

[3] See the passage in Migne, *P.L.* xxxv. 2329 similiter et spiritus sanctus, quasi antistes, sacerdos appellatus est excelsi dei, non summus, sicut nostri in oblatione praesumunt.

The letter of Pope Innocent I. to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium in Umbria, in 416 A.D. is a document full of interest because of the evidence which it affords as to the liturgical customs current in Rome and the surrounding churches. From it we learn that the claims of the Roman See, which Innocent had already asserted in matters of discipline in the case of the churches of Africa and Gaul, were being pressed in the interests of liturgical conformity with the usages of Rome. The letter arose out of the divergence from Roman practice exhibited in the neighbouring churches with regard to the Eucharist and other rites, and Decentius, after learning the usages of the Roman Church, which he wished to follow, consulted Innocent upon the matter. Innocent begins[1] by a strong assertion of the obligation of all to observe the traditions handed down to the Roman Church by Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and ever since guarded by that Church, and not to introduce usages derived from any other source, especially as it was clear that the churches of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the adjacent islands owed the foundations of their churches to those whom the Apostle Peter or his successors had appointed bishops (*sacerdotes*). He urges Decentius to instruct, warn, or pass judgement on those who introduce novelties or think that any other custom ought to be followed than that of the Church of Rome. The points submitted by Decentius were: (1) the position of the kiss of peace, (2) the place at which the recital of

[1] See the text in Migne, *P. L.* xx. 551 f.

the names should be made, (3) the confirmation of infants by anyone other than the bishop, (4) the Saturday fast, (5) the Roman practice of sending the *fermentum* or consecrated Eucharist to the presbyters of the suburbicarian churches. Other points dealt with were exorcism and the unction of the sick.

Of the questions discussed (1), (2), and (5) alone concern us here. (1) With regard to the kiss of peace, Decentius refers to the custom of some who gave it before the completion of the mysteries (*ante confecta mysteria*), whereas the Roman custom, which Innocent seeks to enforce, enjoined it at the close of the Canon, and Innocent justifies this position as marking the assent of the people to all that was done in the mysteries and as setting their seal upon it[1].

(2) Another divergence from Roman custom was the practice of reciting the names of offerers before the priest had said the prayer of consecration (*precem*), and commended to God by his prayer (*oratione*) the oblations of those whose names were to be recited. Innocent enjoins, in accordance with Roman practice, that the offerings are first to be commended to God, and then the names are to be announced (*edicenda*), in order that they may be mentioned 'in the sacred mysteries' (*inter sacra mysteria*), and not in the preceding part of the rite, 'in order that by the mysteries themselves we may open the way for prayers to come[2].'

[1] pax...per quam constet populum ad omnia, quae in mysteriis aguntur...praebuisse consensum, ac finita esse pacis concludentis signaculo demonstrentur.

[2] ut ipsis mysteriis uiam futuris precibus aperiamus.

From this it would seem that the Roman Mass in the time of Pope Innocent contained some prayer, corresponding in its contents to the present *Secreta* prayers, by which the offerings were commended to God, and that after this the names of the offerers were to be announced with a view to their recitation in the Canon. The order implied in Innocent's directions finds a parallel in the present Roman Canon, in which the *Memento, domine* contains a prayer for the offerers[1].

(3) A third point on which Decentius had consulted Innocent related to the Roman practice of sending the *fermentum*[2] or Eucharist that had been consecrated by the bishop to the presbyters of the several city churches (*tituli*) of Rome. This was a relic of the time when all the presbyters met together for a common Eucharist, and when the unity of the body was expressed, as it is in the Ignatian epistles, by the 'one Eucharist.' When this became no longer possible, the practice was adopted of sending the consecrated Eucharist from the church, where the bishop celebrated, to the

[1] For a different interpretation of the language of Innocent, which would bring the Roman custom into accord with that of the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, and make the present position of the recital of names in the Roman Canon a later innovation than the time of Innocent, see Dom Cagin, *Paléographie musicale*, v. 75.

[2] The word *fermentum* is also applied later on to the portion of the reserved host kept from a previous Mass and put into the chalice after each new consecration. The object here, too, was to mark the unity of the different Masses. Duchesne, *op. cit.* 163, 185. On the consecration of the chalice by the *fermentum* see Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*[2], p. 160.

presbyters throughout the city. The reason which Innocent gives for the practice is that 'on account of the people entrusted to their charge, the presbyters cannot meet together with us,' and so the *fermentum* was sent to them by the acolytes, 'that they might not think that they were separated from communion with us.' Innocent enjoins that the practice should not be followed in dioceses (*per paroecias*) outside Rome, because the sacraments ought not to be carried a long distance. Even in Rome itself, he says, the presbyters in charge of the cemeteries do not receive the *fermentum*, the right of consecrating the Eucharist being conceded to them.

The reference in this letter to a divergence of practice with regard to the kiss of peace and the recital of names is an interesting indication of the existence in the time of Pope Innocent, about 416 A.D., of two distinct uses in the West. One of these is represented by the Roman Church, with which, at least so far as the position of the kiss of peace is concerned, the Church of North Africa in the time of Augustine was in accord. The other use, which, as we learn from Innocent's letter, was prevalent in the regions north of Rome, accords, in the position assigned to the recital of names and the kiss of peace, with that found in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, while traces of an older position of the kiss of peace, before the Canon, are found also in the Ambrosian liturgy[1].

We may now consider some facts bearing upon

[1] Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, pp. 212 f.

the relation of the Roman Canon at the end of the fourth or in the first half of the fifth century to the form in which it appears in the 'Gelasian' Sacramentary at the end of the seventh or early in the eighth century[1].

In the first place we may clear the ground by taking note of certain modifications of the Canon in the intervening period, of which we have evidence.

(1) The *Liber Pontificalis*[2] tells us that Pope Gregory added to the *Hanc igitur* the words 'diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari.'

(2) From the same authority[3] we learn that Pope Leo added to the Canon the words *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*, which are now found in the prayer *Supra quae*.

(3) The intercession for the dead *Memento etiam*, as Mr E. Bishop has pointed out[4], was not originally recited in public masses on Sunday, and did not constitute an essential and regular element of the Canon before the ninth century.

(4) To Pope Gregory was due the transference of the Lord's Prayer to a place before the Fraction instead of after it[5].

The second of these statements shews that the prayer *Supra quae* in its original form agreed more closely with the corresponding portions of the prayers

[1] On the character of the early texts of the Roman Canon see E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* iv. 568 f. [2] ed. Duchesne, p. 312.
[3] *ibid.* p. 239. [4] *J. Th. St.* iv. 570 sq.; xii. 391 f.; xiv. 44.
[5] See Greg. M., *Ep.* ix. 12.

in the *de Sacramentis*. The third has, as we shall see, an important bearing on the sequence of ideas exhibited in the latter part of the Canon. The fourth enables us to see that the order of the North African liturgy, as represented in Augustine, conformed to that of Rome in regard to the position of the Fraction, the Lord's Prayer, and the kiss of peace, while the introductory formula to the kiss of peace, *Pax uobiscum*, appears in both.

In a fragment of a letter of Pope Gelasius (492–496 A.D.) to Elpidius reference is made to the coming of the 'heavenly Spirit' at the consecration of the divine mystery, and to the prayer of the priest for His presence[1]. From this it has been argued that the Roman Canon originally contained an invocation of the Holy Spirit. But whatever be the exact meaning of the language of Gelasius[2], such an allusion to the invocation of the Holy Spirit would stand isolated so far as Rome is concerned. Moreover the statement of Gelasius is general in character, and contains no express reference to Roman usage. Nor do the parallel prayers in the *de Sacramentis* exhibit any trace of such a form of Invocation. It has indeed been argued[3] that the Roman Canon originally had an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and that it has been whittled down in the Roman and other Western

[1] Thiel, *Epp. Rom. Pontif.* i. 486 nam quomodo ad diuini mysterii consecrationem caelestis spiritus adueniet, si sacerdos et qui eum adesse deprecatur, criminosis plenus actionibus reprobetur?

[2] Notice that Gelasius says *caelestis spiritus* not *spiritus sanctus*.

[3] See W. C. Bishop in *Ch. Quarterly Review*, lxvi. (1908) 393 f.

rites under the influence of the idea that the words of Christ constitute the real form of consecration. But no adequate evidence has been produced in support of this conclusion, and the presumption afforded by the *de Sacramentis* points the other way.

We may now summarise briefly the facts which emerge from the evidence which has been adduced.

(1) From the letter of Pope Innocent to Decentius it appears that the Roman liturgy early in the fifth century contained some prayer, like the present *Secreta* prayers, commending the offerings to God, and that this was followed by the announcement of the names of the offerers, with a view to their being mentioned in the course of the Canon[1].

(2) The prayers in the *de Sacramentis* (about 400 A.D.) contain much of the substance of the prayers found in the Roman Canon from the *Quam oblationem* to the *Supplices te*, though in an earlier stage of developement and with some striking divergencies (*e.g.* the phrase *figura corporis et sanguinis*, and the different arrangement of the contents of the prayers *Supra quae* and *Supplices te*). Hence we may draw one of two conclusions. Either the prayers in the *de Sacramentis* represent a form nearly related to that of the Roman Canon (as Duchesne suggests), or they are an older form of the Roman Canon itself.

[1] Boniface I. and Celestine I. refer to prayers for the Empire offered 'oblatis sacrificiis' (Celestine, *Ep.* 23 (*ad Theodosium*); *P.L.* l. 544) or 'inter ipsa mysteria' (Boniface, *Ep.* 7 (*ad Honorium*); *P.L.* xx. 766). Leo refers to the recital of names of bishops at the altar (*Ep.* lxxx. 3).

(3) From the letter of Pope Gregory referred to above we gather that before his time the Lord's Prayer was recited, as in North Africa, after the Fraction, instead of before it, as at present.

(4) From the evidence of Jerome and Pope Innocent we learn that the kiss of peace preceded Communion, as in the North African rite.

From these attestations of the Roman liturgy, derived mainly from external sources, we may now pass on to a brief review of the contents of the Roman Canon itself with a view to ascertaining what light it throws upon the general character of the Roman rite in early times.

When we compare the Roman Canon with the corresponding portions of the liturgy current in Greek-speaking Christendom at the close of the fourth century, in such centres as Antioch and Jerusalem (as witnessed to by the Apostolic Constitutions, the writings of Chrysostom, or, still earlier, of Cyril of Jerusalem), we are struck with the contrast which is presented to us. This contrast has been a standing problem to students of liturgy. But the difficulties of the Roman Canon have arisen partly also from the apparent obscurity in the tenour and sequence of the prayers contained in it. Hence various theories have been propounded with regard to it, based on the supposition that its present form is due to later revision or to the transposition of some of the prayers[1]. It is not possible to enter into these in

[1] For these theories see Cabrol, *DACL.* art. 'Canon,' and E. Burbidge in *Guardian*, March 24, 1897.

the present volume or to discuss what elements of truth they may contain. Taking the Canon as it stands we may endeavour to form some estimate of its general tenour and purport.

(1) After the *Sanctus*, which like the Syrian and Byzantine forms (James, Bas., Chrys.) includes the *Hosanna* and *Benedictus qui uenit*, there is a request (*Te igitur*) for the acceptance of the gifts and sacrifices, together with a prayer for the Church and (*Memento, domine*) for the congregation 'who offer this sacrifice of praise,' followed by a commemoration of saints (*Communicantes*).

(2) The request for the acceptance of the oblation is resumed in the prayer *Hanc igitur*, while in the *Quam oblationem* God is invoked to bless it (*benedictam facere*) and make it 'approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable[1],' 'that it may become to us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.'

(3) The *Qui pridie* introduces the recital of the institution which is followed by the Anamnesis and oblation (*unde et memores*), the latter of which runs:

> We offer unto thy excellent majesty of thy gifts and bounties[2] a pure offering[3], a holy offering, a spotless offering, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation.

[1] The words are *adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem acceptabilemque.*

[2] For *de tuis donis ac datis*, cf. St Mark (*LEW.* 133. 30) σοι ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν, and the words in St Basil and St Chrysostom (*LEW.* 329. 6) τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέροντες.

[3] Cf. Mal. i. 11.

(4) The two following prayers (*Supra quae* and *Supplices te*) ask for the acceptance of the gifts, which are compared to the gifts of Abel and the sacrifices of Abraham and Melchizedek, and request is made that they may be 'carried to the altar on high by the hands of Thy angel in sight of Thy divine majesty[1],' that all who partake of the Body and Blood of Christ may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace.

(5) The commemoration of the dead (*Memento etiam*), which follows here in the present Roman Canon, was, as we have seen, no regular or essential part of the Sunday Mass at Rome before the ninth century. With this omission, the words *Nobis quoque* attach themselves to the preceding prayer and ask for association in the fellowship of all the saints, including those whose names are recited[2].

(6) Attached to the concluding words of the previous prayer 'through Jesus Christ our Lord' there is the clause 'Through Whom, O Lord, Thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow on us all these good things,' followed by the concluding doxology.

When we compare these prayers with the general tenour of the corresponding Greek forms we notice the following features:

[1] With this prayer may be compared the petition in the short diaconal litany before the bishop's blessing in *A.C.* (*LEW.* 23. 15 f.) *ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου...ὅπως ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεὸς προσδέξηται αὐτὸ...εἰς τὸ ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον.*

[2] On this and the preceding prayer and the parallels with St Basil see E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xiv. 44 f., 59 f.

(1) There is no clear expression in the Roman Canon of such ideas as are associated by Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom with the 'moment of consecration,' or by the former with the operation of the Holy Spirit in effecting the consecration of the elements. The diversity of opinion as to the question whether the *Quam oblationem* or the *Supplices te* is the equivalent of the Invocation in the Eastern liturgies is one illustration of this[1].

(2) Again, the Roman Canon contains in its concluding portion no intercessions for the various classes of persons who are prayed for at the conclusion of the Anaphora in the Greek rites connected with Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantinople. When the *Memento etiam* is left out of consideration, the prayers from the *Quam oblationem* onwards are concerned with the coming act of communion and the preparation of the worshippers for it. There is one indication of this in the words 'ut *nobis* corpus et sanguis fiat,' and it comes to light more clearly in the concluding portion of the *Supplices te* and is continued in the *Nobis quoque.*

(3) The Eucharistic terminology of the Roman Canon with its twice-repeated reference to *corpus et sanguis Christi* marks an advance upon that exhibited in the *de Sacramentis.* But in the phrase *panem sanc-*

[1] For this divergence of view see E. Bishop in Connolly's *Narsai*, pp. 131f., 150f. The later Western view was that the consecration is effected by the words of institution, and this view was read into the Roman Canon. But that document points to a state of things in which this identification had not yet been made. See further, chs. viii., ix.

tum uitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae we have traces of another terminology. If we could be sure that the prayers in the *de Sacramentis* represented an older form of the Roman Canon itself, it would seem that the vaguer words of the former, *figura corporis et sanguinis Christi*, originally filled the place of the more explicit form now found in the *Quam oblationem*. This less explicit terminology, which to some minds will seem jejune and bare, has been illustrated from North African and Roman writers, as well as from the later Western Sacramentaries, by M. Batiffol[1]. It finds frequent expression in the variable post-communion prayers of the genuinely Roman Sacramentary, the Gregorian, and such language was appealed to in the Eucharistic controversies in the West by Berengar and Ratramn.

(4) It has already been remarked that the conception of the sacrifice in the prayers of the *de Sacramentis* is mainly eucharistic. The same is true of the Roman Canon. In the earlier portion the phrases *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata—sacrificium laudis—oblatio seruitutis nostrae* occur. In the oblation after the Anamnesis we find *de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram* (a reference to Mal. i. 11), *hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam*, while immediately afterwards in reference to its sacramental character the oblation is called *panem sanctum uitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae*. Still later the offerings are compared to the gifts of Abel and the sacrifices of

[1] *Études* II. 306 f., 351 f.

Abraham and Melchizedek, and in the *Per quem haec omnia* they are referred to as *haec bona*. This earlier eucharistic conception is also found in the *super oblata* prayers of the Gregorian Sacramentary, side by side with, and sometimes combined in the same prayer with, others in which the propitiatory conception finds expression, though the former class predominates.

Thus the language of the Roman Canon testifies to a primitive stage of developement and shews little trace of the more fully developed ideas current in Greek circles at the close of the fourth century.

In conclusion a few words may be said about the divergent usages in the West to which Duchesne[1] and other writers have called attention. We may notice the following points:

(1) In the *missa catechumenorum* the prophetic lesson is alluded to by Ambrose, at Milan, and we learn from Augustine that it was in use, though not a fixed custom, in North Africa[2]. It is also a feature of the Gallican and Mozarabic books.

(2) The position of the recital of the names of offerers and of the kiss of peace differed in the time of Pope Innocent at Rome from that of the churches in Italy to the north of Rome, though with regard to the kiss of peace the use of Rome accorded with that of Hippo in North Africa in the time of Augustine[3].

(3) In some parts of North Africa, as we gather from Optatus, there was an invocation of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy. But from the silence of

[1] *Chr. Worship*, p. 86 f. [2] pp. 144, 157. [3] pp. 152, 155 f.

Augustine it may be inferred that this was not the case at Hippo, while the evidence of Ambrose for Milan yields, as we have seen, no certain results. There is no trace of it at Rome, beyond the very doubtful reference of Pope Gelasius, which makes no direct reference to Roman usage[1].

(4) The blessing by the bishop, with laying on of hands, before communion finds its earliest attestation in North Africa in the writings of Augustine. It may be alluded to by Ambrose[2], and it is found in Gaul in the time of Caesarius of Arles († 542 A.D.). It appears in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites. But here again Roman evidence is wanting.

With regard to (1), (3), and (4), as well as the position of the kiss of peace, the non-Roman Western usages described find parallels in the Greek rites.

It is possible that the earlier Roman rite in some of these features agreed more closely with other Western rites. Thus the prophetic lesson appears to have fallen out of general use at Rome in the course of the fifth century[3]. With regard to the position of the recital of the names of offerers at Rome it has been suggested[4] that some of the earlier prayers in the Roman Canon (*e.g. Memento domine* and *Communicantes*) originally preceded the Preface, and thus the intercessory portions, as was probably the case originally in the East[5], and as is the case

[1] pp. 150f., 163, 185. [2] p. 164.
[3] Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, p. 168.
[4] Dom Cagin, *Paléographie musicale*, v. 70f. [5] p. 212.

in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, lay outside the Eucharistic prayer. So too, if we could be sure that Justin was describing the particular usage of the Church of Rome, we should have evidence of an earlier position of the kiss of peace in that Church. With regard to the other two usages, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit and the bishop's blessing before communion, we have no Roman evidence. Indeed the restricted character of the evidence for these, *e.g.* the silence of Augustine as to the former when compared with its earlier attestation by Optatus, and the comparative lateness of the evidence for the latter (the earliest witness for North Africa is Augustine) suggests that neither practice was early or native in the West.

The further discussion of these divergent usages in the West must be left to the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE LITURGY IN EAST AND WEST

In the present chapter it is proposed briefly to review the evidence which has been set forth in the preceding pages and to indicate the main lines along which the liturgy developed in the period under discussion.

As we have seen, the early liturgy arose out of a combination of Jewish and Christian elements. The thanksgiving over bread and wine which our Lord pronounced at the Last Supper finds its counterpart in the Jewish forms of blessing used at meals and in connexion with the more solemn commemorations of the Sabbath and great festivals. Into this setting were introduced the new Christian thoughts which our Lord associated with the Last Supper, and which led the early church to observe the 'breaking of bread' as a memorial of Him and as a means of communion with Him. Both these elements appear in the account which St Paul gives of the Eucharist in his first epistle to the Corinthians. At first these two parts constituted a unity, but when Christianity

was translated to Gentile surroundings the Jewish setting speedily disappeared, and the common meal became separated from the Eucharist proper. This is the stage exhibited in Justin Martyr's account. But there still survived the memory of the associations amid which the Eucharist came into being. The thanksgiving 'for the creation of the world and all that is therein for man's sake[1],' perpetuated the primitive εὐχαριστία or 'giving of thanks' at the Last Supper. Out of this was developed not only the great Eucharistic prayer of the liturgies with its commemoration of creation and redemption, but also the ritual custom of offering the gifts of bread and wine as an expression of thanksgiving for God's blessings. We find indications of this in the language of Clement of Rome and the *Didache*, and in the more explicit statements of Irenaeus.

But we also find in the time of Justin, closely associated with these elements, a preceding 'service of the word,' consisting of lessons from the Gospels or prophets, a sermon, and prayers. This again goes back to the Jewish surroundings of the early church and was probably modelled to some extent on the synagogue worship, in which we find (1) prayers, (2) a lesson from the Law, (3) a lesson from the prophets, (4) an exposition or homily. The early Christians had retained their connexion with Judaism by attending the Temple prayers, and the first missionaries had preached in Jewish synagogues[2]. Hence

[1] Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 41.
[2] Acts ii. 46; xiii. 14, etc.

it was natural that the organization of their own worship should take a complexion from their Jewish surroundings. The fusion of the two elements, the 'service of the word' and the Eucharist proper, would naturally take place when the Eucharist became divorced from the common meal. But the actual steps in the history of this fusion we cannot trace. The Didache is silent as to any such preparatory service. Tertullian, who, as we have seen[1], describes a service of a similar character to that with which we are dealing, also seems to imply that there was a distinction between this 'service of the word' and the Eucharist proper, and that the two were not always conjoined[2]. Nor again is there any reference to this preparatory service in Cyril of Jerusalem. This might be explained by the fact that it was familiar to the catechumens for whom his instructions were intended. But the evidence of the *Peregrinatio* of Etheria shews that at Jerusalem in her time the liturgy proper was distinguished sharply from other gatherings and was held in a different church[3]. The same practice is indicated by Augustine as existing at Hippo[4]. Lastly, we have the evidence of Socrates the historian for the fact that at Alexandria in the fifth century on Wednesdays and Fridays there was a service consisting of lessons from Scripture, instruction, and all the other accompaniments of a synaxis except the celebration of the mysteries[5].

[1] p. 129.

[2] *de Cult. Fem.* ii. 11 *aut* sacrificium offertur, *aut* dei sermo administratur.

[3] p. 83 n. 3. [4] p. 144. [5] *H. E.* v. 22.

These facts suggest the original distinctness of the two services, and seem to shew that though their fusion in some churches took place at an early period, in others the memory of their original distinctness survived[1]. To the *missa catechumenorum*, as the 'service of the word' was called, were admitted not only catechumens and penitents, but also Jews and heathen[2], while the liturgy proper (or *missa fidelium*) was carefully guarded from all except the faithful.

With regard to the reading of Scripture and the psalmody which characterized the former service in the fourth century we may note first of all that in both East and West lessons from the Old Testament as well as from the New Testament were read, while Augustine tells us that the acts of the martyrs were read on their days in North Africa[3]. Still earlier, before the Canon of Scripture became fixed, we find other books, such as the Epistle of Clement, read in Church[4]. Originally too the lessons were numerous, though in the latter part of the fourth century they appear to have become restricted to three in the churches of Antioch, Constantinople, and Milan, while in North Africa in the time of Augustine the use of Old Testament lessons does not appear to have been a fixed custom. At Rome it would appear that originally, as at Milan, the prophetic

[1] See further Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques*, p. 334 f.; Woolley, *Lit. of primitive Church*, p. 33 f.

[2] See can. 84 of the so-called Fourth Council of Carthage (Hefele, *Councils* (E. tr.) ii. 417). The Council of Laodicea (can. 6) forbids, however, heretics to enter the church.

[3] p. 144.

[4] Euseb., *H. E.* iv. 23.

lesson was included among those read, though it has since almost entirely disappeared[1].

The use of psalms between the lessons is attested for Syria by the Apostolic Constitutions, for Asia by the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, and for North Italy by Ambrose. Augustine speaks of the psalm sung before the Gospel, in a way which corresponds with the later Roman Gradual. Responsorial singing of the Psalms is attested by Athanasius, the Apostolic Constitutions, and by Etheria.

At the close of the fourth century we find that a special ritual was being developed in connexion with the reading of the Gospel. From the Apostolic Constitutions we read that the people stood while it was read, and from Jerome that lights were used throughout the churches of the East at the Gospel. At Carthage in the time of Cyprian it was read by a *lector* or reader, at Rome in the time of Jerome by the deacon, at Alexandria in the fifth century by the archdeacon.

The chief developement in connexion with the concluding prayers of the *missa catechumenorum* arose out of the institution of the catechumenate and the penitential system of the church. This gave rise to the elaborate system of prayers and blessings for each of the classes of persons not permitted to be present at the mysteries, which we find referred to as early as the third century by Gregory Thaumaturgus in Cappadocia, and which are more fully described by Chrysostom at Antioch,

[1] p. 193.

and by the author of the Apostolic Constitutions. Here, as in some other developements, the Church of Antioch may have led the way, and from Antioch they spread into Asia (Canons of Laodicea) and into Cappadocia[1]. In Egypt (Sarapion) they are less developed, and are represented simply by the prayer for the catechumens and their benediction[2].

The changed conditions of Church life which resulted from the abolition of the penitential system in the East in the last decade of the fourth century[3] do not appear to have affected for some time the ceremonies of the dismissals, and, as we have seen[4], there is evidence to shew that the dismissal of the penitents survived as late as 530 A.D. The same was the case with the dismissal of the catechumens, where the forms survived even long after the catechumenate had ceased to exist. In the West there is no clear evidence of these developements in our period.

In the portion of the rite preceding the Anaphora the 'prayers of the faithful' correspond to the prayers which are found at this point in Justin's account of the baptismal Eucharist, and to the similar prayers in which, according to the Ethiopic Church Order, the newly-baptized were allowed to join 'with all the people[5].'

The most characteristic developement in this connexion was the deacon's litany, with which the

[1] The *Peregrinatio* of Etheria points to a similar system of dismissals at the daily offices at Jerusalem. See p. 83.

[2] p. 64.

[3] p. 122. [4] pp. 122 f. [5] Horner, p. 155.

Missa fidelium began. As exhibited in the Apostolic Constitutions and the Antiochene writings of Chrysostom, it consisted of a series of biddings by the deacon (the people probably responding *Kyrie eleison*), completed at the close by the prayer of the bishop. This developement, like the dismissals in the *missa catechumenorum*, appears to have been due to the Church of Antioch, and thence it probably passed into Pontus and to Constantinople. There is no mention of it in Cyril of Jerusalem, while the liturgy of Sarapion points to a different use for Egypt, as do the Canons of Laodicea for Asia.

In North Africa we find in Augustine reference to 'prayers of the faithful' or 'prayers of believers,' which appear to have included 'biddings' by the bishop, 'common prayers' with proclamation by the deacon, and concluding prayers (or collects) by the bishop[1]. As we have seen, this may correspond to the usage exhibited in the Roman Good Friday prayers. Of diaconal litanies in the Eastern manner there is no clear evidence during our period in the West.

After the prayers there followed in the East the kiss of peace. This ritual custom took its origin from the 'holy kiss' or 'kiss of love[2]' which in Apostolic times was a token of the brotherhood of Christians. It is referred to in Justin's account of the Eucharist, where it follows the 'common

[1] p. 145.

[2] See Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Pet. v. 14.

prayers.' The letter of Innocent to Decentius shews that early in the fifth century, in the Churches of Italy to the north of Rome, the kiss of peace was given before the Canon began, according to Eastern usage; while in the Roman rite, with which that of North Africa in the time of Augustine agreed, it preceded Communion. Its association with the people's offering would receive support from Mt. v. 23, 24, while its association with the Communion would emphasize the idea of the Sacrament of Unity.

The custom in accordance with which the people made their offerings of bread and wine for the Eucharist is indicated by Tertullian and Cyprian, as also by the Canons of the Spanish Council of Elvira early in the fourth century[1]. It is expressly referred to by Augustine[2], and the letter of Pope Innocent to Decentius shews that it was in existence both at Rome and in churches of Italy to the north of Rome early in the fifth century. In the East there is much less evidence for the practice. The liturgy of Sarapion contains a prayer 'for those who have offered,' and the existence of the practice at Alexandria is implied by Theophilus[3]. For Pontus we have the evidence of the Second and Third Canonical Epistles of Basil as late as 375 A.D.[4] It is implied in the Apostolic Constitutions[5], but there is no evidence for it in the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, or Constantinople, so far as may be gathered from the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom. Mr E. Bishop has

[1] pp. 137, 177. [2] p. 146. [3] p. 53.
[4] p. 117. [5] pp. 102 f.

suggested[1] that the practice was dying out generally in the East in the course of the fourth century[2], whereas it survived to a much later period in the West[3].

As we have seen, the original nucleus round which the primitive liturgy gathered was the εὐχαριστία or 'thanksgiving,' based on the 'giving of thanks' at the Last Supper. It was in connexion with this central prayer that the earliest liturgical forms became fixed. Originally, as we gather from Justin, though extemporary in character, it followed a fixed theme and formed one long prayer commemorating God's work in Creation and Redemption. The liturgies of Sarapion and the Apostolic Constitutions illustrate in different ways the manner in which this theme came to be elaborated. To this thanksgiving was attached a preface (*Sursum corda*, etc.), which assumed at quite an early date a fixed character. It is found in almost identical words in Cyprian, the Ethiopic Church Order, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the Apostolic Constitutions. At what time the *Sanctus* was introduced into it, it is difficult to say. Its absence from the Ethiopic Church Order suggests that it was of later introduction in some churches, though it appears to have early attestation in the West from the *Acts of Perpetua*. The effect of its introduction was to break into two parts the

[1] Connolly, *Narsai*, p. 117.

[2] It is found in the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 19, 23) where directions are given about it.

[3] For the people's offering at Milan see Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, p. 204.

central Eucharistic Prayer. In the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions it divides the commemoration of Creation and of God's dealings with man under the Old Covenant from the commemoration of the Incarnation and Redemption. As found in Sarapion and the Apostolic Constitutions it had not yet received the later additions of the *Hosanna* and *Benedictus* which are found in later Eastern rites (except the Egyptian) and in the Roman rite. The recital of the institution and the formal commemoration of the Passion and Resurrection (the Anamnesis, as it is technically called) are further elements which had acquired a fixed place in the Eucharistic prayer in most churches before the closing years of the fourth century or the early years of the fifth century. They are found in the Ethiopic Church Order and the Apostolic Constitutions. For the words of institution we have at Antioch the testimony of Chrysostom[1], while Basil implies their existence in the churches of Pontus[2]. The silence of Cyril of Jerusalem as to this portion of the liturgy is probably accidental, and the rapid developement of eucharistic beliefs and liturgical customs in that region renders it improbable that these elements were wanting in the church of Jerusalem. For the West we have the testimony of the prayers in the *de Sacramentis*, in which the recital of the institution and a formal Anamnesis appear. For North African practice we have insufficient information to enable us to form a judgement. But to this positive evidence there are two

[1] p. 94. [2] p. 118.

striking exceptions. In Sarapion, though the words of institution appear, there is no Anamnesis, while the East Syrian liturgy of Adai and Mari contains neither words of institution nor Anamnesis. This may be connected with the particular conceptions of the Eucharist current in those regions[1]. But though Sarapion witnesses to the earlier practice of the regions connected with Alexandria, the evidence of Cyril of Alexandria, writing in 430 A.D., suggests that before that date the liturgy of his church had conformed to the practice of other Greek churches.

To this Anamnesis, in the liturgical forms in which it is found (*e.g.* the Ethiopic Church Order, the Apostolic Constitutions, the *de Sacramentis*) there is attached a solemn oblation of the elements, which in turn introduces in the Eastern rites the Invocation. The history of this latter must now be considered.

The word ἐπίκλησις or 'invocation' is used in its technical liturgical sense to denote a prayer to God for the operation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements that they may become the Body and the Blood of Christ. This use of the term, however, is derived from the later and more fully developed Eastern forms of invocation. We must first trace the earlier stages of its history.

(1) A thanksgiving[2] over the sacred meal, which in virtue of this thanksgiving becomes the spiritual

[1] For Alexandria see E. Bishop, in Connolly's *Narsai*, pp. 156 f. for Eastern Syria, *ibid.* pp. 147 f.

[2] On the words εὐλογεῖν, εὐχαριστεῖν, see p. 2.

food of the faithful, existed from the first. This thanksgiving did not form merely a part of the Eucharistic prayer, but was identical with it. The forms of thanksgiving found in the *Didache* and some of those in the Gnostic *Acts of John* recall, as we have seen[1], Jewish forms of grace at meals. As we have already indicated[2], Justin's description of the Eucharist accords with a similar state of things.

(2) From Irenaeus onwards we find the word ἐπίκλησις used in connexion with the consecration of the elements, while in some Gnostic sources we find not only a reference to the Invocation, but a definiteness in its association with the moment of consecration which goes far beyond Irenaeus and anticipates later developements in the East[3]. In the third century we have the evidence of Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia[4] and of the *Didascalia* in Syria[5] for the use of an invocation in the celebration of the Eucharist. During the fourth century all our Eastern sources of information, whether in Syria, Jerusalem, Cappadocia, or Egypt, attest the existence of an invocation of some kind in the liturgy. Turning to the West we find Optatus in North Africa referring to the invocation of the Holy Spirit[6], though Augustine, writing still later at Hippo, speaks more vaguely of the bread and wine as consecrated 'by the mystic prayer,' and elsewhere of their 'receiving the benediction of Christ[7].' For Rome we have the reference of Jerome to bishops 'praying for the advent

[1] p. 43. [2] pp. 36 f. [3] p. 44.
[4] p. 119. [5] p. 89. [6] pp. 150 f. [7] p. 150.

of the Lord at the Eucharist[1].' Lastly in the *de Sacramentis* we find a prayer parallel to the *Quam oblationem* of the Roman Canon, asking God to 'make this oblation to us approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable, because it is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,' while the corresponding prayer in the present Roman Canon in addition asks God to 'bless' (*benedictam facere*) the oblation, 'that it may become to us the body and blood...of Christ.'

But while the evidence for the existence of an invocation in some form in the liturgy is considerable, closer examination reveals considerable divergence in form and contents. Irenaeus refers to the bread as 'receiving the Word of God[2],' where the operation of the Logos rather than the Holy Spirit seems to be in view. Similarly Justin, as we have seen, compares the operations of the Logos in the Incarnation and in the Eucharist[3]. This idea is specially characteristic of Alexandrine writers, and in accordance with it we find in the liturgy of Sarapion a prayer for the descent of the Logos instead of the Holy Spirit[4]. Jerome, as we have seen, speaks of prayer for the advent of the Lord simply, while the writings of Augustine, the *de Sacramentis*, and the Roman Canon are equally silent as to any reference to the Holy Spirit.

The first clear and undisputed references to the operation of the Holy Spirit are found in the forms of invocation in the Ethiopic Church Order and Cyril of Jerusalem[5]. It appears at Antioch (Chrysostom),

[1] p. 178. [2] pp. 40 f. [3] p. 36.
[4] p. 68. [5] pp. 57, 85.

and in the Apostolic Constitutions[1], also in the East Syrian liturgy of Adai and Mari. At Alexandria Athanasius exhibits the influence of the same tradition as is found in Sarapion, in his association of the Logos with the Eucharist[2]. But his successors in the episcopate, Peter, as well as Theophilus, in the later decades of the fourth century, refer to the invocation of the Holy Spirit[3], from which we may infer that at Alexandria the older tradition died out in the latter part of the fourth century and was replaced by the view generally current in the East at that time. The writings of the Cappadocian Fathers and of Chrysostom supply us with no evidence as to the form of Invocation current in the churches of Pontus and Constantinople. The former re-echo the Alexandrine language on the relationship of the Logos to the Eucharist, but such language cannot be regarded as witnessing to any local tradition or practice, but is rather a result of their Origenistic studies[4]. From the general character of the liturgical developements in the churches of Pontus and Constantinople, so far as these have come under our notice in the previous chapters, and from their correspondence with those of Antioch, as well as from the evidence of the liturgies of St Basil and St Chrysostom, we may regard it as practically certain that in these churches too the invocation was a prayer for the operation of the Holy Spirit[5]. When we turn to the West the

[1] pp. 94, 105. [2] p. 55. [3] p. 55. [4] p. 126.

[5] On Basil's use of the word *ἀνάδειξις* and its parallel with the *ἀναδεῖξαι* in the Invocation of Lit. of St Basil see p. 119 n. 2.

evidence is much more meagre. In North Africa Optatus about 363 A.D. refers to the invocation of the Holy Spirit, but the silence of Augustine at a considerably later period suggests that there was no such invocation in the church of Hippo. The evidence of Ambrose is not conclusive as to the form of the Invocation at Milan[1], and apart from the uncertain passage of Gelasius[2], there is no evidence of it forthcoming from Rome. The character of this evidence suggests, as we have seen, that the invocation of the Holy Spirit was not a native or original feature in the West.

A further difference in the forms of invocation is apparent when we come to consider their general tenour and purport. In the Ethiopic Church Order and in the East Syrian liturgy of Adai and Mari the Invocation is primarily a request for the divine intervention that the blessings of the Sacrament may be secured to the worshippers. The same statement holds good of some early Gnostic forms[3]. On the other hand in Cyril of Jerusalem, Sarapion, and the Apostolic Constitutions we find an explicit prayer that through the coming of the Holy Spirit (or Logos, in Sarapion) the elements may be made, or become, or be shewn as, the Body and Blood of Christ[4].

This latter type of Invocation exhibits greater developement than that found in the Ethiopic Church Order and the liturgy of Adai and Mari, and tends

[1] p. 163. [2] p. 185. [3] p. 43.
[4] pp. 85, 68, 105.

to emphasize more clearly the idea of 'the moment of consecration,' an idea which is not raised in the more immature and naïve conceptions of the other type. Nor has this more explicit form of invocation wholly dispossessed the statement of the other idea in the liturgical forms in which it is found. Thus the invocation in Sarapion, after praying for the coming of the Logos, proceeds:

> And make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue.

In the Apostolic Constitutions the author appears to have interpolated into an older form of invocation resembling that found in the Ethiopic Church Order an invocation of the later and more explicit type[1]. The Eastern liturgies still retain this association of a prayer for the blessings of a good communion with the more explicit form of invocation[2]. The *Supplices te* of the Roman Canon also contains a prayer that all who by partaking of the altar receive the body and blood of Christ 'may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace.' The Roman Canon in fact contains two prayers, each of which has been regarded in turn by students of liturgy as the equivalent of an invocation. The earlier (*Quam oblationem*) precedes the recital of the Institution and asks somewhat in the later manner (note however *nobis fiat*) that the oblation may become the Body and Blood of Christ, while the other (*Supplices te*) follows the

[1] pp. 105 f.

[2] See *LEW.* 54. 14 f.; 134. 22 f.; 330. 13 f.

words of institution and Anamnesis, and asks that the gifts may be 'carried to the altar on high' and made available to the worshippers with a view to their gaining the blessings of communion in the Body and Blood of Christ. In the corresponding prayers of the *de Sacramentis* the purpose of the invocation is more obscure, as the general tenour of the prayers seems to emphasize the sacrificial rather than the sacramental aspect of the rite. The words, however, 'fac *nobis* hanc oblationem adscriptam...quod figura est corporis et sanguinis...Christi,' seem to contain an implied reference to the Communion.

The portions of the liturgy which follow the Invocation exhibit a corresponding developement to that which we have found in the Invocation during the period embraced in this volume. We may notice the following facts.

(1) In the Ethiopic Church Order all the prayers which intervene between the Invocation and the Communion have in view the communicants and their needs. The general structure of this part of the liturgy of Sarapion witnesses, as we have seen, to a similar original character, and it has been contended that the same is substantially the case with the East Syrian Liturgy of Adai and Mari[1]. A prayer for communicants is found in the Apostolic Constitutions immediately after the Invocation, and a similar prayer survives in the Greek rites of

[1] The quasi-intercessory portion in *LEW.* 288. 13 f. may seem at first sight to be an exception. See p. 128 n. 2, and on the whole question E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xiv. 30 f.

St James, St Mark, St Basil, and St Chrysostom. Lastly, the Roman Canon, as Mr E. Bishop has pointed out[1], witnesses to a similar train of ideas. The intercession for the dead (*Memento etiam*) in the later portion of the Canon is absent from some early texts and was not originally a part of the public Sunday mass. With this omission the concluding portions of the Canon from the *Supplices te* onwards have in view the worshippers, their reception of the Body and Blood of Christ, and their association in the fellowship of the Saints.

(2) Such intercessions as were offered for particular classes of persons outside the actual congregation during the earlier period of the history of the liturgy in the East appear to have occurred in the pre-anaphoral portion of the rite. Thus in Sarapion there is a series of prayers of an intercessory character which a rubric directs to be recited 'before the prayer of offering' (*i.e.* the anaphora)[2]. This supplies evidence for the early Egyptian rite. In the liturgy of Adai and Mari there are an intercession and diptychs after the Kiss of peace[3], though in its present form it also contains an intercession between the *Sanctus* and the Invocation. Similarly in the West in the time of Pope Innocent the recital of the names of offerers took place in the churches of Italy to the north of Rome before the Canon, and this is the position of the intercessions in the Gallican and

[1] *J. Th. St.* xiv. 45 f., 59 f.

[2] The title of the anaphora in Sarapion is *εὐχὴ προσφόρου*.

[3] On the order of this part of Lit. of Adai and Mari see Connolly in *J. Th. St.* xiii. 592.

Mozarabic rites. At Rome in the time of Pope Innocent the recital of the names of offerers took place within the Canon, and this corresponds with the place of the intercessions in the present Roman Canon. It has however been contended, as we have seen[1], that there has been some transposition of the prayers in the Roman rite, and that originally Roman practice agreed with that of other Western churches.

(3) But during the fourth century, and under the influence of conceptions of the Eucharistic Presence and Sacrifice current in Syria and Jerusalem and brought to light in the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom, we find the practice of associating intercessions for the living and the dead with the moments immediately following upon the consecration. This practice is exhibited in the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, and in the rites of St James[2], St Basil, and St Chrysostom. It also explains the intercession for the departed and the recital of their names in Sarapion, this feature being, as we have seen, probably an importation from the practice of the Church of Jerusalem.

(4) The practice of commemorating the names of particular persons, living or dead, in connexion with the general intercessions offered in public worship for various classes of persons, is also attested during this period. It took different forms in the churches of the West and the East.

[1] See p. 193.

[2] On the original position of the diptychs in Lit. of St James see Connolly, *J. Th. St.* xiii. 589, and E. Bishop, *ibid.* xiv. 24 f.

In the West, where, as we have seen, the custom of the people's offering of bread and wine for the Eucharist was current, the names of offerers were recited at the altar. We have allusions to this early in the fourth century in the Canons of the Council of Elvira in Spain, and early in the fifth century the letter of Pope Innocent to Decentius attests the practice for Italy. As we have seen, there was a divergence as to the position in the liturgy occupied by this recital of names, but in either case it preceded the consecration.

In the East the practice of commemorating departed saints and praying for the dead in close connexion with the Eucharistic sacrifice *after the consecration* is attested about the middle of the fourth century by Cyril of Jerusalem, while some years later the Egyptian liturgy of Sarapion contains a rubric in the intercession for the dead expressly mentioning the recitation of the names. With regard to this practice we may notice the distinction which Cyril draws between patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, who are commemorated and whose intercessions are indirectly invoked, and on the other hand the rest of the dead for whom prayer is offered[1].

Of the Western practice referred to above there appears to be no clear trace in the East during this period[2]. The custom of reciting the names of

[1] *Cat.* xxiii. 9.

[2] In the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 19) directions are given that the names of offerers are to be written down with a view to their being named by way of commemoration when the holy things are

the dead in the intercession after the consecration seems to have been introduced into the East in the fourth century. With regard to the West we learn from Augustine that in the Church of North Africa there was a recital in the liturgy of the names of (1) martyrs and *sanctimoniales*, (2) deceased bishops, as well as a general commemoration of the dead. Augustine draws the same distinction between the martyrs who were not prayed for, and the rest of the dead for whom prayer was offered, as we find in Cyril[1]. The same distinction is also found in the Mozarabic rite[2]. On the other hand in the Gallican prayers only the ordinary dead are referred to, while in the Roman Canon it is specifically the names of saints which are recited, the general commemoration of the dead (*Memento etiam*) being, as we have seen, a later intrusion into the public Sunday Mass. The conclusion which has been drawn from these facts is that this divergence of custom in the West with regard to the recital of names of the dead 'points to a later and independent adoption in these regions of a practice imported or suggested from elsewhere[3].'

As to the place of this commemoration of the dead in the North African liturgy Augustine gives us no clear indication. In the Mozarabic rite it is

offered by the bishop. But the liturgy of the Testament makes no provision for such recital, and it is not easy to say where it could have come in (see E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xii. 390 n.). Moreover the uncertainty of the date of the Testament renders its evidence doubtful for the period under discussion.

[1] See pp. 86, 147.

[2] See the *post nomina* prayers in Lesly, pp. 27, 345.

[3] E. Bishop in *J. Th. St.* xii. 392. Cf. *ibid.* iv. 571 f.

found before the Preface; in the Roman rite the formal commemoration of departed saints (*Communicantes*) is found within the Canon but before the *Quam oblationem*.

The practice of the recital of names which has been described above assumed in time a formal character, and gave rise to what are known as the diptychs or lists of names of persons recited publicly in the liturgy. The first clear and explicit mention of them during our period is in the correspondence of Cyril of Alexandria with Atticus of Constantinople about the insertion of the name of Chrysostom in the diptychs of the dead. From this we learn that they included both living and dead, and that the diptychs of the dead included clergy and laity, the names of the bishops of Constantinople being arranged in continuous order. In the correspondence in question the practice referred to is that of the churches of Constantinople and Antioch. In the East Syrian Church, though the liturgy of Adai and Mari mentions 'the book of the living and the dead,' it would appear from the evidence of the Dionysian writings that originally only the names of the dead were recited[1]. Lastly, we may notice that the evidence of Cyril of Jerusalem, Sarapion, and Chrysostom as to the commemoration of the departed at the close of the Anaphora corresponds with the position which the diptychs occupy in the liturgies of St James, St Basil, and St Chrysostom. In East Syria, where the older tradition as to the position of the Great Intercession

[1] See Connolly in *J. Th. St.* xiii. 592 f.

continued to prevail, unaffected by the new developements in Greek-speaking lands, the diptychs appear, as in the liturgy of Adai and Mari, after the Kiss of peace.

The use of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy is attested by Cyril of Jerusalem and probably by Chrysostom, but it is absent from the Apostolic Constitutions, and there is no certain evidence for its use in Egypt in the fourth century. Nor again is there any explicit mention of it in connexion with the liturgy in North Africa before Optatus. This absence of evidence may be partly accidental, but we must allow for the possibility that its introduction into the liturgy was only slowly adopted in some churches.

The allusions found in fourth century writers to the Fraction have been collected in the preceding chapters. The question whether it had already assumed a formal and ritual character, or whether in the references cited it denotes simply the breaking of the consecrated bread into pieces before Communion, must be left undetermined here. Sarapion testifies to the existence of a prayer of the Fraction, a feature characteristic of the Egyptian rite. The Apostolic Constitutions do not refer to the Fraction, but give a short litany at this point of the service which may be connected with the Fraction, and Chrysostom has been thought, though perhaps without sufficient reason, to attest the existence of a similar litany at Antioch[1].

[1] p. 95.

A benediction of the people with laying on of hands is found in the Ethiopic Church Order, and after the Fraction in Sarapion. In the corresponding place in the Apostolic Constitutions we find at the close of the short diaconal litany mentioned above, an injunction by the deacon 'Let us arise and commend ourselves to God through His Christ,' followed by the bishop's prayer which is in form a preparation for communion[1]. This benediction is also attested by Gregory of Nazianzus for Cappadocia. In the West the evidence for it in this period is slight. It is not mentioned in any North African writer before Augustine[2]. There is a possible reference to it by Ambrose at Milan, but there is no trace of it at Rome.

In North Africa and at Rome in the fourth century the Kiss of peace preceded Communion. The *Sancta sanctis* with the response 'One holy,' etc. is found in the Ethiopic Church Order, in Cyril of Jerusalem, and in the Apostolic Constitutions, and Chrysostom attests its existence at Constantinople. In the Apostolic Constitutions it is followed by the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Hosanna*, and *Benedictus qui venit*, a feature which may be original and point to the earlier connexion of these words with the moments before Communion[3]. Their association with the *Sancta sanctis* further helps to emphasize the original purpose of this latter formula as an admonition preparatory to communion. There is no clear evidence for the *Sancta sanctis* in the West during our

[1] *LEW.* 24. 6 f. [2] On Optatus, see p. 153. [3] p. 108.

period, nor in any Alexandrine writer before Cyril of Alexandria, nor is it found in Sarapion. Hence it was probably a feature of late introduction at Alexandria.

The words of administration, so far as they are quoted in the sources for this period, are simple in character, though there are traces here and there of expansion. The communion chant is found in Cyril of Jerusalem and the Apostolic Constitutions, and is referred to by Augustine, who, however, describes it as of recent origin in North Africa. All three sources point to the use of Ps. xxxiv. in this connexion. The Amen, which is the response of communicants on reception, is referred to by Tertullian, the *Acts of Perpetua*, and Augustine. For Italy it is attested by Jerome and the *de Sacramentis*, while in the East it is found in the Ethiopic Church Order[1], Cyril of Jerusalem, and the Apostolic Constitutions. Forms of thanksgiving and a final benediction are provided in the Ethiopic Church Order, Sarapion, and the Apostolic Constitutions, and the thanksgiving is also alluded to by Chrysostom in the East, and by Augustine in the West. Lastly, a form of dismissal by the deacon is found in the Ethiopic Church Order, in the Apostolic Constitutions, and in Chrysostom.

The review which has been given in the preceding chapters points to the existence, at the close of the period under discussion, of more or less defined types of liturgical usage in several of the great centres of Christendom, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Rome, and

[1] Horner, p. 156.

North Italy. The chief features of these uses, and their relations to well-known types of liturgy, have been indicated in the summaries contained in the several chapters. Though liturgical forms were still in a more or less fluid condition, certain well-defined landmarks are observable. The general order of service had already in Justin's day assumed some degree of fixity. In the third century the evidence of Cyprian points to the fact that certain formulae (the *Sursum corda* and response) had become stereotyped, while the evidence of Cyril of Jerusalem, Sarapion, the Apostolic Constitutions, and Chrysostom, in the fourth century, points to the existence of a traditional framework of the prayers, as in the deacon's litany and the cues which take up the language of the *Sanctus*, as well as in the shorter formulae, such as the salutations and versicles, and in some quarters the *Sancta sanctis* with its response. A similar result is shewn in the West by the evidence of Augustine. The actual wording of the officiant's prayers attained fixity more slowly, but we may notice the appearance in the North Italian *de Sacramentis* of a series of prayers which present a fairly close correspondence in wording with those of the Roman Canon. Lastly, we may notice in the West the attempts which were made on the one hand by local councils in North Africa to restrict the free composition of mass-formulae, and on the other hand the efforts of the occupants of the See of Rome, as evidenced by the letter of Innocent to Decentius, to secure conformity among the churches of Italy with Roman usages.

It is probable that at first each bishop composed his own book of prayers for his individual use, though in this task he would be guided increasingly by traditional usage and the practice of previous bishops of the see. We have an example of this in the liturgical prayers of Sarapion. In this respect the influence exercised by a bishop of great repute, and the authority of his name, would secure acceptance for the liturgical usages associated with him. In this way we may explain the association of the names of St Basil and St Chrysostom with two of the Eastern liturgies, and the emergence of certain distinct local types of liturgy.

A second influence was the prestige and authority enjoyed by the great churches of Christendom among surrounding churches. The most conspicuous instance of this in the East is the church of Antioch, which appears to have influenced the liturgical usages of Pontus, Asia, and Constantinople[1]. Another centre of influence was Jerusalem, in consequence of the growth of pilgrimages and the building by Constantine of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre[2]. It is in these two regions that we find clearest evidence during the fourth century of a forward movement in Eucharistic conceptions and liturgical enrichment, which was destined to exercise a considerable influence on other churches.

In the West, as we have seen, the letter of Pope Innocent to Decentius points to the existence, early

[1] pp. 111, 114 f.

[2] On this see E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.* xiv. 36 f.

in the fifth century, of certain divergences of rite in the Churches of Rome and North Italy. With regard to one of these, the position of the kiss of peace before communion, the usage of Rome agreed with that of North Africa in the time of Augustine, though if Justin can be regarded as a witness to local Roman usage, it would appear that this divergence arose later than his time. With regard to the other divergence of custom mentioned by Innocent, the position of the recital of the names of offerers, reference has been made to the theory that here too the earlier practice of the Roman church accorded with that of other Western churches[1].

But these divergences, which come out especially in the comparison of the Roman rite with the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, extend to other features as well. In some of these (*e.g.* the phraseology in which the recital of the institution is introduced[2], the occasional introduction of an invocation of the Holy Spirit, the bishop's blessing before communion) the 'Gallican' use accords with that of Eastern rites. For the invocation of the Holy Spirit and the bishop's blessing before communion, Western evidence during the period under consideration in this volume is, as we have seen[3], restricted in character, and suggests the conclusion that neither practice was early or native in the West. From the title of the prayer which follows the recital of the

[1] p. 193.

[2] The Mozarabic formula is *in qua nocte tradebatur*, as in the Greek rites.

[3] p. 218.

institution in Gallican forms, *Post pridie*, it has been suggested that here also earlier Gallican usage corresponded with that of Rome[1].

Duchesne[2] accounts for these divergences in the West by the assumption of Greek influence entering the West in the latter part of the fourth century by way of Milan, and he associates the establishment of the 'Gallican' use with Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Milan (355—374 A.D.), who was a Cappadocian. But this identification is too definite and local, and does not take account of North African evidence. The influence of Greek liturgical customs on the West was probably of a much more subtle character than this theory of direct introduction suggests. The growth of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and the effect of the Arian controversy, with its frequent councils and interchange of ideas and visits between Eastern and Western bishops, would contribute to spread a knowledge of the more advanced teaching and practices of the Greek-speaking East among Western Christians[3].

The further question of the extent of the influence of Western churches on one another in the matter of liturgical customs is one that cannot easily be discussed and is not so clearly raised by the evidence which falls within our period.

1 Dom Cagin, *Paléographie musicale*, v. 55 f.

2 *Chr. Worship*, p. 93 f.

3 On the influence of the Holy Places and the services at Jerusalem on the liturgical year see Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques*, pp. 175 f.

CHAPTER IX

EARLY CONCEPTIONS OF THE EUCHARIST AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE HISTORY OF THE LITURGY

The earliest references to the Eucharist outside the New Testament present it in the light of a Christian 'thank-offering' (εὐχαριστία)[1], in which the gifts of bread and wine, the first-fruits of the creatures, are offered in thanksgiving to God. Thus Clement of Rome speaks of those who have 'offered the gifts' of the bishop's office[2], and the author of the *Didache*[3] applies the name 'sacrifice' to the rite, while several early writers (*Didache*, Justin, Irenaeus) see in the prophecy of Malachi i. 11 a reference to the Eucharist. The significance of this Christian 'thank-offering' may be illustrated from the language which Irenaeus and Origen employ with reference to it. The following passages are typical of the teaching of the former:

> Moreover, giving to his disciples counsel to offer first-fruits to God from his creatures, not as though he was in need, but in order that they themselves may not be either unfruitful or unthankful, he took bread which is of the

[1] See Hort on the words εὐχαριστεῖν, εὐχαριστία in *J. Th. St.*, iii. 594 f.

[2] *ad Cor.* 44.

[3] c. 14.

creature, and gave thanks, saying, This is my body. And the cup likewise, which is of our creation, he acknowledged to be his blood, and taught the new oblation of the new covenant; which the Church receives from the Apostles and offers throughout the whole world to that God who supplies us with sustenance, as first-fruits of his gifts in the new covenant[1].

Moreover we offer to him, not as though he is in need, but rendering thanks to his dominion, and sanctifying the creature....So the Word himself gave the people the command to make offerings, though he did not need them, that they might learn to serve God[2].

Elsewhere he brings into connexion with these gifts the thought of the creative activity of the Word 'by which trees bear fruit and fountains flow, and the earth gives first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear[3].'

Similarly Origen, vindicating against Celsus the Christian view of creation, says:

> But we, giving thanks to the Maker of the universe, eat also bread, which is offered with thanksgiving and prayer for the things that have been given, which bread becomes through the prayer a kind of holy body and one that hallows those who use it with right purpose[4].

This association with the Eucharist of the offering of the gifts of bread and wine, as an act of thanksgiving for God's creation, was a fine Christian instinct, which brought the commemoration of Christ's redeeming activity into relation with His creative activity as the Word, and so gathered up in one act of worship the whole conception of God's providence and dealing

[1] *adv. Haer.* iv. 17. 4 f.
[2] *Ibid.* iv. 18. 6.
[3] *Ibid.* iv. 18. 4.
[4] *c. Cels.* viii. 33.

with men. It was an outcome of the new life of joy, which saw in the truth of the Incarnation the consecration of all nature and all life.

This conception of the Eucharist as a 'thank-offering' finds full expression in the great Eucharistic prayer which, as an act of praise for the blessings of creation and redemption, *in its general tenour* had already in the days of Justin taken the form exhibited in the later liturgies. In the liturgical forms of the fourth century it finds its fullest and most systematic developement in the Apostolic Constitutions. After the opening dialogue of the Preface with its invitation to give thanks the celebrant developes the theme of the thanksgiving, passing in review God's work in Creation and in the revelation of the Old Testament, leading up to the Angelic Hymn. Again the thanksgiving is resumed with the commemoration of the mystery of man's redemption, leading up to the recital of the institution at the Last Supper, in obedience to which the rite is celebrated. Then follows the formal commemoration of the passion, death, resurrection, and ascension, in obedience to the command 'do this in remembrance of Me,' and the oblation of the bread and the cup, with the invocation of the Holy Spirit to consecrate them. Thus the structure of the whole Eucharistic prayer follows the order of the Creed and is intended to set forth the successive stages of God's revelation, culminating in the work of the Holy Spirit, Whose intervention is invoked.

The other liturgical forms of the period exhibit a

less complete developement of these ideas, but the general tenour is the same. In the Ethiopic Church Order and the East Syrian liturgy of Adai and Mari there is only a passing reference to Creation; the prayers of Sarapion dwell especially on the thought of God's revelation through the Word; while in the Roman Canon the introduction of variable Prefaces has affected the form of the prayers at this point.

With regard to the conceptions entertained about the consecration of the elements and its effects the review which has been given in the previous chapters of the developement of the rite points to the following facts.

(1) In the earliest period of which we have evidence no attempt was made to formulate a theory as to the exact form or moment of the consecration of the elements. The 'thanksgiving' was regarded as the sanctification of the meal, which in virtue of this thanksgiving pronounced over it became the spiritual food of the faithful. This, as we have seen, is the stage exhibited in the *Didache* and the Gnostic Acts of John, while Justin's statement that 'the food over which thanks have been given through the prayer of the Logos...is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus' seems still to move in the same circle of ideas[1].

(2) In Justin and Irenaeus we have noticed a tendency to attribute to the Logos the operative power by which the elements become the Body and Blood of Christ. In the Alexandrine writers,

[1] pp. 25 f., 36 f., 44.

Clement, Origen, and Athanasius, the spiritual content of the Eucharist is identified with the Logos, and this idea finds expression in the Liturgy of Sarapion, where the Logos is invoked to come upon the bread that it may become the 'body of the Logos[1].'

(3) In some East Syrian writers (*e.g.* Ephraem) there are traces of a terminology in which at first sight the Holy Spirit seems to be in some sense identified with the 'content' of the Eucharist. But it seems likely that in such cases 'the Spirit' is an old and traditional designation of the Second Person of the Trinity current in East Syria, and that our Lord Himself is in the Eucharist designated 'the Spirit[2].'

(4) Elsewhere, however, especially in Syria and Palestine, the Eucharist was associated with the operation of the Third Person of the Trinity. Thus the *Didascalia*, as we have seen, speaks of the Eucharist as 'received and sanctified through the Holy Spirit,' and associates in the same way prayer and other acts of devotion with His operation[3]. But this early and simple reflection of Christian piety on the ministry of the Holy Spirit in connexion with the Eucharist is far removed from the very definite conceptions of the nature of the Holy Spirit's consecratory power exhibited by Cyril of Jerusalem in the middle of the fourth century. Here we find for the first time the statement of the ideas which

[1] See E. Bishop in Connolly's *Narsai*, pp. 155 f.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 147 f. [3] p. 89.

underlie what is technically called the Epiclesis of the Eastern liturgies. In Cyril the Invocation is a prayer to God to send the Holy Spirit upon the gifts 'that He may make the bread the body and the wine the blood of Christ,' and he justifies such Invocation on the ground that 'whatsoever the Holy Spirit touches is sanctified and changed.' How far the growth of a fuller conception of the work of the Holy Spirit resulting from the controversies of the fourth century encouraged this tendency to emphasize His ministry in the consecration of the Eucharist it is perhaps hazardous to conjecture, but the view expressed by Cyril tended more and more to become the dominant view in the East and, as we have seen, succeeded in the latter part of the fourth century in replacing the older tradition at Alexandria[1].

(5) In the West there is little trace of this reflection on the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist. Cyprian in one passage[2], where he is referring to an apostate bishop, asserts that 'the oblation cannot be sanctified where the Holy Spirit is not.' But there is no evidence in North African writers of any developement of a theory as to the nature of the Holy Spirit's operation in the Eucharist such as we find in Cyril of Jerusalem, and though Optatus supplies evidence that in some parts of North Africa an invocation of the Holy Spirit was found in the liturgy in the fourth century, it is interesting to notice that a later writer, Fulgentius, in the sixth century, justifies it on grounds which

[1] p. 55. [2] p. 140.

move in an entirely different region of thought from those of Cyril[1]. Augustine is silent as to any invocation of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy, nor does he dwell upon His operation in this connexion[2]. The thoughts of Ambrose on the consecration of the Eucharist move in a different circle of ideas[3], and in the Roman Canon prayer is addressed simply to God.

(6) The position assigned to the words of institution is the next point which claims attention. Cyril of Jerusalem in his account of the liturgy does not allude to them, though he had expounded them in a different connexion elsewhere, and it is evident from his whole treatment of the liturgy that for him the operation of the Holy Spirit is the real ground of the consecration of the elements. The East Syrian liturgy of Adai and Mari omits the words of institution altogether, while in the *Testament of our Lord* the words over the cup are not quoted, but only referred to indirectly. It would appear that in the East they were not regarded as a fixed formula of consecration. In Chrysostom we find in some passages the consecration attributed to the Holy Spirit, while elsewhere he seems to assign an

[1] See Fulgentius, *ad Monim.* ii. 9 cum ergo sancti spiritus ad sanctificandum totius ecclesiae sacrificium postulatur aduentus, nihil aliud postulari mihi uidetur nisi ut per gratiam spiritalem in corpore Christi, quod est ecclesia, caritatis unitas iugiter indisrupta seruetur. See further his whole discussion in chs. 6—11 of the same treatise. Similar ideas are expressed in the context of the passage in *Fragm.* xxix. (*P. L.* lxv. 791), sanctificat itaque sacrificium ecclesiae spiritus sanctus.

[2] On the passage *de Trin.* iii. 4, see p. 150, n. 6.

[3] pp. 161 f.

operative power to the words of institution. His language in fact shews the transitional character of the conceptions of the period as to the 'form' of the consecration of the Eucharist[1]. Gregory of Nyssa appeals to the words of institution as the authority and historical warrant for believing that the elements are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ[2]. And this appears to be the sense in which they are used in the Eastern liturgical forms of this period. They are the justification of the Church's action in the Eucharist.

In the West there were tendencies at work which prepared the way for the later Western view that the words of institution constitute the true form of consecration. Thus in the third century, while Cyprian maintained that heretical baptism was invalid because heretics did not possess the Holy Spirit and so could not consecrate the waters of baptism, the Roman Church maintained its validity, provided that it was administered with a proper form[3]. Here we find two distinct sacramental theories. The influence of Augustine's teaching expressed in the famous saying 'Accedit uerbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum[4]' would tend to give currency to the latter of the two theories, while the language used

[1] Cf. E. Bishop in Connolly's *Narsai*, p. 143. The sense of the passage *de Prod. Iud.* i. 6 appears to be that the Lord's words of institution, though spoken once for all, have an efficacy through all time, and it is by them that the priest, though only as the agent of the divine power, operates at every Eucharist.

[2] Greg. Nyss., *Or. Cat.* 37.

[3] Cyprian, *Ep.* lxx. 1, 2; lxxiii. 16, 18; lxxv. 9, 11.

[4] *in Ioann. Tract.* lxxx. 3.

by Ambrose and the author of the *de Sacramentis* certainly points to a growing emphasis upon the words of institution as effecting the consecration[1].

(7) We can trace during the period under discussion the growth of a more definite and pronounced terminology to describe the effects of consecration, and also the developement of the idea of a 'moment of consecration.'

In the terms used to denote the Sacrament of the Eucharist during the first three centuries, side by side with a simple, unreflective 'realism' which accepts, but does not go beyond, the words of Christ 'This is my body,' 'This is my blood,' we find language like that of Tertullian[2] which speaks of the bread as the 'figure' (*figura*) of Christ's body, or as 'representing (*repraesentat*) His very body,' or like that of Cyprian which speaks of the blood of Christ as 'shewn forth' (*ostenditur*) in the cup[3]. Nor is such language limited to Tertullian and Cyprian. It forms the starting-point of Augustine's teaching, which represents, as we have seen[4], a more reflective and developed stage of it. It also appears in the works of a number of Eastern writers during the latter part of the third and throughout the fourth century[5]. Similar language appears in the prayers of the liturgy of Sarapion which speak of 'offering the bread' as 'a likeness' (ὁμοίωμα) of the body, and the cup as a 'likeness' of the blood, while in the *de Sacramentis* we find in the prayer corresponding

[1] pp. 161 f., 165. [2] *adv. Marc.* iii. 19, i. 14. [3] *Ep.* lxiii. 2.
[4] p. 142. [5] Cp. Batiffol, *Études* II. pp. 203 f.

to the *Quam oblationem* of the present Roman Canon, the words 'make this oblation to us approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable, because it is the figure (*figura*) of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Traces of the same terminology survive in the liturgy of St Basil, where in the words which introduce the Invocation we find 'offering the types (ἀντίτυπα) of the holy body and blood of thy Christ[1].' It would be an exaggeration to say that where such language is used of the consecrated elements, it implies a merely figurative or symbolical view of the sacrament[2]. In some of the passages adduced the sacramental conception of the Eucharist is subordinated to the sacrificial conception, and it is to the elements as offered, rather than as received in communion, that such language is applied. This is the case in the liturgical prayers referred to above[3]. The act of offering is regarded as recalling in type and symbol the sacrifice of Christ and representing it by way of commemoration. And side by side with such language we find the consecrated elements spoken of freely as 'the body and the blood of Christ' in accordance with the simple and unreflective realism of the early period.

But in Cyril of Jerusalem we find the first traces of a more definite and pronounced terminology[4].

[1] *LEW.* 329. 23 f.

[2] On Tertullian's use of *figura* and *repraesentare* see Leimbach, *Beiträge zur Abendmahlslehre Tertullians* (Gotha, 1874); Swete, *J. Th. St.* iii. 173; Turner, *ibid.* vii. 596.

[3] Cf. also the *Didascalia* as cited on p. 88.

[4] There is an earlier anticipation of it in some of the Gnostics. See p. 43.

Side by side with a simple and literal interpretation of the words of institution, and the use of the words 'figure' or 'type' (τύπος, ἀντίτυπος), we find the word 'change' (or 'convert,' μεταβάλλειν) used to denote the effect produced upon the elements by consecration. This change he illustrates from the change of water into wine at Cana of Galilee[1], and, as we have seen, he attributes it to the operation of the Holy Spirit. From this time the language of 'conversion' came to be freely applied by Church writers in the East to the consecration of the elements. In the popular teaching of Chrysostom at Antioch it found eloquent expression, and the authority of his name helped largely to secure for it a hold upon the fervid and imaginative piety of Syria.

In the West the doctrine of 'conversion' finds its first exponent in Ambrose, who here, as in other respects, interpreted Greek theology to the West. In North Africa the teaching of Augustine, with its distinction between the 'visible sign' and the invisible *res* of the Sacrament, proved an obstacle to the reception of the language of 'conversion.' But it is probable that popular belief in North Africa finds a truer representative in Optatus. Yet in Optatus though, as we have seen[2], there is strong language suggestive of a 'localized' presence of the Body and Blood, there is no trace of the terminology which speaks of a 'conversion' of the elements. Rome on the other hand, as we gather from the writings of

[1] *Cat.* xxii. 2.
[2] p. 142.

Jerome and Ambrosiaster, exhibited the older conservative tradition represented by Tertullian[1].

This new terminology, which starts with Cyril of Jerusalem, finds no expression in the liturgical formulae of our period. Indeed it is an interesting fact that with comparatively few exceptions[2], the Eastern liturgies have in this respect exhibited a conservative instinct, while in the West the sporadic traces of language which speaks of 'conversion' or 'change' appear to be mainly connected with 'Gallican' sources, and were probably due to Greek influences subsequent to the middle of the fourth century[3]. The prayers of the *de Sacramentis* in the restraint of their language (*Figura corporis et sanguinis—panem sanctum et calicem uitae aeternae*) reflect the old Roman spirit, and it reappears in the variable prayers of the Gregorian Sacramentary, which are similarly marked, as we have seen[4], by their reserved language. Yet the indirect influence of this new developement upon the liturgy was considerable. To it we may attribute the more explicit forms of invocation which appear in the later liturgical prayers (Cyril of Jerusalem, Sarapion, the Apostolic Constitutions, the *Quam oblationem* of the Roman Canon), as compared with the forms found in the Ethiopic Church Order and the liturgy of Adai and Mari. The latter pray for the coming of the Holy Spirit on the oblation that the blessings of the

[1] Batiffol, *Études* II. 307 f.

[2] For these see *LEW.* 179. 25 (Coptic); 330. 9 (Chrys.); 439. 15 (Arm.).

[3] See Feltoe in *J. Th. St.* xi. 575 f.

[4] p. 191.

sacrament may be made available for the communicants; the former are explicit prayers that the elements may become the Body and Blood of Christ. To the same cause we may attribute the 'localizing' tendency exhibited in Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom, which emphasizes the solemnity of the moments following upon the consecration[1].

The conceptions of the Eucharistic sacrifice during this period also underwent a similar developement. In our earliest sources (Clement, *Didache*) the sacrifice is primarily eucharistic, and the same is true of Irenaeus[2]. In Justin combined with this we have special emphasis on the memorial of the Passion[3]. Cyprian is the first definitely to speak of the Eucharistic sacrifice as an offering of the Body and Blood of Christ, though side by side with this, we find him speaking of 'offering the cup in commemoration of the Passion[4].' The liturgical forms of this period (Ethiopic Church Order, Sarapion, Apostolic Constitutions, *de Sacramentis*, Lit. of Adai and Mari) do not advance beyond the eucharistic and commemorative aspects in the general tenour of their language, though in two of them (Sarapion, Apostolic Constitutions) we find traces of newer influences[5]. In the Ethiopic Church Order the oblation which follows the Anamnesis is simple in character. The whole prayer runs as follows:

Remembering therefore thy death and thy resurrection we offer to thee the bread and the cup, giving thee thanks

[1] See below, pp. 238 f.
[2] pp. 29 f., 39.
[3] p. 35.
[4] p. 139.
[5] p. 213.

that thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee and minister unto thee[1].

The oblation in the Apostolic Constitutions is a closely related form, with the later touch 'minister as priests' (ἱερατεύειν) in place of the simpler Latin *ministrare*. Sarapion speaks of 'offering the bread' and so 'making the likeness of the death,' 'offering the cup' and so 'presenting a likeness of the blood.' In the *de Sacramentis*, after the Anamnesis, the oblation is spoken of as 'this spotless offering, a reasonable offering, an unbloody offering, the holy bread and cup of eternal life,' and in the prayer for its acceptance on the 'altar on high' it is compared to the gifts of Abel, and the sacrifices of Abraham and Melchizedek.

But in the language of Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom we find a much more advanced conception. The Eucharist is the 'holy and awful sacrifice,' 'the sacrifice of propitiation,' over which God is intreated for the common peace of the churches. 'We offer Christ sacrificed for our sins, while we propitiate the loving God' on behalf of the living and the dead[2]. Chrysostom uses similar language and speaks of 'the Lord sacrificed and lying before you and the priest standing over the sacrifice and praying[3],' though elsewhere he guards against the idea that there is any repetition of the sacrifice of the Cross. 'We do not offer a different sacrifice...but always the same, or rather we celebrate a memorial of a sacrifice[4].'

[1] Hauler's Latin text is translated.
[2] *Cat.* xxiii. 8, 10.
[3] *de Sacerd.* iii. 4.
[4] *in Heb.* xvii. 3.

This idea of the Eucharistic sacrifice, in accordance with which, as a result of consecration, and antecedent to communion, the worshippers are brought into a specially close relation with the Divine Victim, throws light upon another liturgical developement, the intercessory prayers at the close of the Anaphora, and the recital of the names of the dead in close connexion with the Eucharistic sacrifice. Originally it seems likely that all the intercessions took place before the Anaphora began. But the influence of the newer developements in Eucharistic beliefs and practices, by defining more clearly the moment of consecration, and suggesting the thought of a 'localized' presence of the Divine Victim in the Church's midst, promoted the tendency to regard the moments which followed upon the consecration as specially suitable for intercession. The first reference to the practice is in Cyril of Jerusalem, who, as we have seen, speaks of 'intreating God for the common peace of the churches over that sacrifice of propitiation,' while he justifies prayers for the departed at this point of the service on the ground that 'it will be a great help to those souls for whom prayer is offered, while the holy and awful sacrifice lies before us[1].' Chrysostom, as we have seen, has language to a similar effect, and speaks of the efficacy of such intercession, which he compares to the petitions addressed to an Emperor while seated on his throne, or to the procuring of the release of captives on the occasion of an imperial triumph, in each case the

[1] *Cat.* xxiii. 9.

particular moment affording the opportunity for successful pleading[1]. This point of view marks a new epoch in Eucharistic devotion, and was destined eventually to produce a type of devotion in which attention came to be more and more concentrated upon the moment of consecration and the petitions addressed to the 'present Lord[2],' whereas in the earlier stages represented by the Ethiopic Church Order, the Roman Canon, and (in the main) Sarapion and the liturgy of Adai and Mari[3], the action of the rite moves steadily forward to, and is concentrated upon, the approaching communion, without any such interruption as was created by the interposition of the intercessions. The former type of devotion, found in Cyril and Chrysostom, represents the beginning of a tendency which reaches its full expression in later times in both East and West, and which in its later form has been summed up in the phrase 'the devotion of the Mass[4].'

The North African Council of Hippo (can. 23) in 393 A.D. directed that at the altar 'the prayer be always directed to the Father,' and this represents the general tenour of the liturgical prayers of this period. The nearest approach to later types of devotion is to be found, as we should expect, in Chrysostom. Thus he compares the worship of the Magi 'with fear and much trembling' to the attitude

[1] *in Act. Ap.* xxi. 4; cp. *in* 1 *Cor.* xli. 4; *in Phil.* iii. 4.

[2] Chrys. *in Act. Ap.* xxi. 4 *μεγάλη τιμὴ τὸ ὀνομασθῆναι τοῦ δεσπότου παρόντος* (of the martyrs).

[3] See pp. 211 f.

[4] E. Bishop, in *J. Th. St.* xii. 395.

of Christians who see Christ 'not in a manger but on an altar[1]'; while in another passage[2], referring to intercessions for the departed, he speaks of 'beseeching the Lamb who is lying on the altar, who took away the sin of the world.'

That this particular side of devotion was not developed to a greater extent was probably due to the influence of other conceptions to which expression is given in the writings and liturgical forms of this period. The conception of Christ as the 'high-priest of our offerings,' which is found as early as Clement of Rome[3], and in Origen[4], brought the earthly oblation of the Church into relation with the priesthood and intercession of Christ in heaven. The true priest at every Eucharist was Christ Himself. This idea is emphasized by Chrysostom, who in language which represents a different line of thought from that previously indicated, says 'We have our victim in heaven, our priest in heaven, our sacrifice in heaven[5].' In the West Ambrose uses similar language. Christ is the priest at every Eucharist, and 'He offers Himself as High-priest that He may forgive our sins, here in symbol, there in reality, where He pleads with the Father for us as our advocate[6].'

To the same circle of ideas belongs the language which is found in the Apostolic Constitutions about the reception of the Church's gift upon 'the heavenly altar.' Thus in the litany in the Apostolic

[1] *in* 1 *Cor.* xxiv. 5. [2] *in* 1 *Cor.* xli. 4.
[3] *ad Cor.* 36. [4] *de Orat.* 10. [5] *in Heb.* xi. 3.
[6] *in Ps.* xxxviii. 25; *de Off.* i. 48. 238.

Constitutions, which is probably connected with the Fraction, we find the petition :

> Let us pray for the gift which is offered to the Lord God, that the good God may, *through the mediation of his Christ, receive it upon his heavenly altar*[1], for a sweet-smelling savour.

In North Africa Augustine's teaching on the Eucharistic sacrifice exhibits two features which call for notice. On the one hand he identifies the sacrifice of the Church with the self-oblation of the faithful, who constitute the Body of Christ, and are offered through the great High-priest, as being the Body of which He is the Head[2]. On the other hand he speaks definitely of the Eucharist as 'the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ,' and in connexion with the practice of offering the Eucharist for the departed, a practice which already in the time of Tertullian found a place in the North African Church, he developed a theory of the Eucharistic sacrifice as propitiatory in character, which is more advanced than anything of the kind found in the West before Gregory the Great[3].

As we have seen[4], the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem appear during this period as the centres of liturgical innovation and developement. A further indication of this is found in the increasing sense of mystery and awe with which the Eucharist is invested

[1] For the 'heavenly altar' see pp. 21, 41.

[2] *de Ciuit. Dei* x. 6, 20; xxii. 10. Elsewhere he applies St Paul's language (1 Cor. x. 17) to the communicants. See *Serm.* 227 si bene accepistis uos estis quod accepistis. See also *Serm.* 272.

[3] See p. 143.

[4] p. 221.

in the language of Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom. Thus they refer constantly to the 'holy and awful sacrifice,' to 'that most awful hour' in which the mysteries are celebrated, and to the silence and quiet attending the moment of consecration. This feature, which finds expression in the liturgy of St James, and to a less degree in the liturgies of St Basil and St Chrysostom, scarcely appears in the liturgical forms of our period. As Mr E. Bishop has pointed out[1], it has only left very slight traces of its presence in the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions[2], and it does not appear in Sarapion, nor in the writings of the Cappadocian fathers nor in any Western writer. Outside the circle of its influence we find the more simple and primitive attitude of mind which dwelt rather on the aspects of thanksgiving and communion.

The question how far this newly developed sentiment found expression in the withdrawal of the mysteries from the sight of the faithful during our period is not easy to determine, owing to the uncertainty whether many of the references to veils and curtains in our sources allude to altar veils in the strict sense of the word. The latter appear to be referred to by Synesius of Cyrene about 411 A.D.[3], but in East Syria in the time when Narsai's homilies were written, as also in the time of 'Dionysius' the

[1] See Connolly's *Narsai*, pp. 92 f.

[2] *LEW.* 13. 31 ὀρθοὶ πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἑστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν. This is the injunction of the deacon with reference to the people's offering, and precedes the Anaphora.

[3] *Ep.* 67 (ed. Petav. p. 212).

Areopagite at the close of the fifth century, the practice does not appear to have been introduced[1].

From Chrysostom it appears that the practice of attendance at the Eucharist without communion was common in his day. His criticism of the practice shews that the class of persons whom he has in mind are those who, on the pretext of unworthiness, rarely communicated, and who from worldly motives were unwilling to fit themselves to do so. His contention is that Christians should fit themselves to partake both in the Sacrifice and in the Communion. Otherwise they place themselves in the position of those under penance[2].

The conception of the Eucharist as a sacrament of unity and fellowship in the One Body finds expression in many ways during this period. It is emphasized by Ignatius repeatedly in view of the separatist tendencies of his time. He bids the churches to which he writes 'break one bread,' 'gather together as unto one shrine, even God, as unto one sanctuary, even unto one Jesus Christ.' They are to 'give heed to keep one Eucharist, for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto union with His blood. There is one sanctuary, as there is one bishop.' That Eucharist is to be considered 'valid' (*βεβαία*) which is under the bishop or him to whom he commits it[3]. As a pledge of communion the Eucharist was sent to

[1] See E. Bishop in Connolly's *Narsai*, pp. 89 f.
[2] *in Eph.* iii. 4.
[3] *Eph.* 20, *Magn.* 7, *Philad.* 4, *Smyrn.* 8.

distant churches[1], and Polycarp on his visit to Rome was allowed by Anicetus to celebrate it there[2]. Another indication of this corporate spirit is found in the practice of 'con-celebration,' in accordance with which the presbyters were closely associated with the bishop in the celebration of the Eucharist. There is possibly an allusion to this in the rubric found in the Ethiopic Church Order[3], in which the bishop is directed to lay his hands upon the oblation *with the presbyters* and to say the thanksgiving[4]. The same practice apparently existed at Rome, and the sending of the *fermentum* to the presbyters of the various city churches of Rome, which is mentioned by Pope Innocent in his letter to Decentius, was a survival of this custom[5].

It was this same sense of fellowship which led to the practice of sending the Eucharist to absent members[6] and to the sick[7]. Nor again was death regarded as severing the fellowship between the living and the departed members of the church. The annual commemorations of the *natalitia* or 'birth-days' of the martyrs and the anniversaries of the dead were accompanied by celebrations of the Eucharist in the cemeteries[8].

It is in accordance with this same spirit that we

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 24. [2] *Ibid.* [3] See p. 61.

[4] For the evidence of Sarapion see Wordsworth, *Ep Sarapion's Prayer Book*, pp. 24, 86 n. 2.

[5] Innocent, *Ep.* xxv. (*ad Decentium*) 5.

[6] Justin, *Ap.* i. 65, 67.

[7] Dionysius of Alexandria, *Ep. ad Fabian.* (ed. Feltoe, pp. 20 f.).

[8] See pp. 88, 133 f.

find the Eucharist brought into relation with the duties and obligations of common life, which the Church sought to sanctify by the participation of its members in the Bread of Life. Tertullian speaks of the 'happiness of that marriage, which is arranged by the Church and confirmed by the oblation and sealed by the blessing[1].' It was the same instinct which led to the practice of allowing the faithful to take the Eucharist from church and reserve it in a casket for private reception at home[2], a custom which Basil explains as due to the stress of persecution when it was difficult to obtain the services of a priest, and which, he says, was also observed by solitaries in the desert who lived at a great distance from the haunts of men[3]. Nor again did the early church withhold the privilege of communion from baptized children. As in the case of adults baptism was followed by the unction and laying on of hands, and the baptismal eucharist, so in the case of children it admitted them to the full privileges of the Church, including communion. Infant communion is referred

[1] *ad Uxor.* ii. 8.

[2] Tert., *ad Uxor.* ii. 5, *de Orat.* 19; Cyprian, *de Lapsis* 26; Ambrose, *de Excessu fratris Satyri*, i. 43; Greg. Naz., *Or.* viii. 18; Jerome, *Ep.* cxxv. (*ad Rusticum*) 20, *Ep.* xlviii. (*ad Pammachium*) 15.

[3] *Ep.* 93. For abuses of the custom see Cyprian, *de Lapsis* 26; Augustine, *c. Iuliani op. imperf.* iii. 162, and the instructions in the Church Orders to partake of the Eucharist before other food in order to obviate the risk of poison or injury (Cooper-Maclean, *Testament of our Lord*, pp. 137, 239). Attempts were being made to suppress the practice in the latter part of the fourth century, except in the case of sickness. See the decrees of the Councils of Saragossa (can. 3), 380 A.D., and Toledo (can. 14), 400 A.D.

to not only by Cyprian and Augustine in the West, but also in the Apostolic Constitutions in the East[1].

In these various ways did the Church seek to bring the Eucharist into relation with the sanctification and spiritual support of all its members, and to realize the sense of membership in the One Body of Christ.

[1] Cyprian, *de Lapsis*, 25; Augustine, *de Pecc. Merit.* i. 20; *A. C.* viii. 12.

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